A new stage in the Canadian liberation struggle... see pages 6 & 7

15¢

BRAVE CANADIANS! Do you love freedom? I know you do. Do you hate oppression? Who dare deny it? Then buckle on your armour, and put down the villains who oppress and enslave our country.

Canadian Declaration of Independence, 1837

NEW CANADA

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NOVEMBER 1970

TRUDEAU DECLARES WAR ON QUEBEC

Once again the Federal Government, this time 'round led by traitor Trudeau, is using the cry of "national unity" to split up the nation and hand it over to the U.S. imperialists.

In response to the FLQ kidnappings of British diplomat James Cross and Quebec Minister of Labour, Pierre Laporte, the government invoked the War Measures Act — the first time in 50 years that such repressive means have been used in any western country in time of peace—in order to destroy the entire Quebec left and to clout rising anti-imperialist movements across the country.

Trudeau said he invoked the Act to fight the FLQ. But, in fact, we can see that its broad application in Quebec amounts to a declaration of war against the people. This means that the FLQ has become the secondary question (for an analysis of the FLQ, ment's actions and the effects see page 6) and the govern- of those actions have become primary.

The implementation of the War Measures Act combined with crocodile tears for the execution of LaPorte (an act for which the government must itself accept responsibility) and crafty suggestions that the FLQ is out to get every English-speaking man, woman and child has created

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a division in the country more serious even than that created by Borden's "Union" government during the conscription crisis of 1917.

Reign of Terror

Trudeau's Reign of Terror on the people of Quebec proves beyond any doubt that his sole purpose has been to rally reactionary forces throughout the country in his plan of a "final solution" to the Quebec problem. In so doing he is also attempting to divert the all-Canada struggle against U.S. imperialism by pretending that Quebec and not U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the Canadian people.

Pierre Vallieres, the FLQ member who was jailed for 44 months on a trumped-up charge and was one of the

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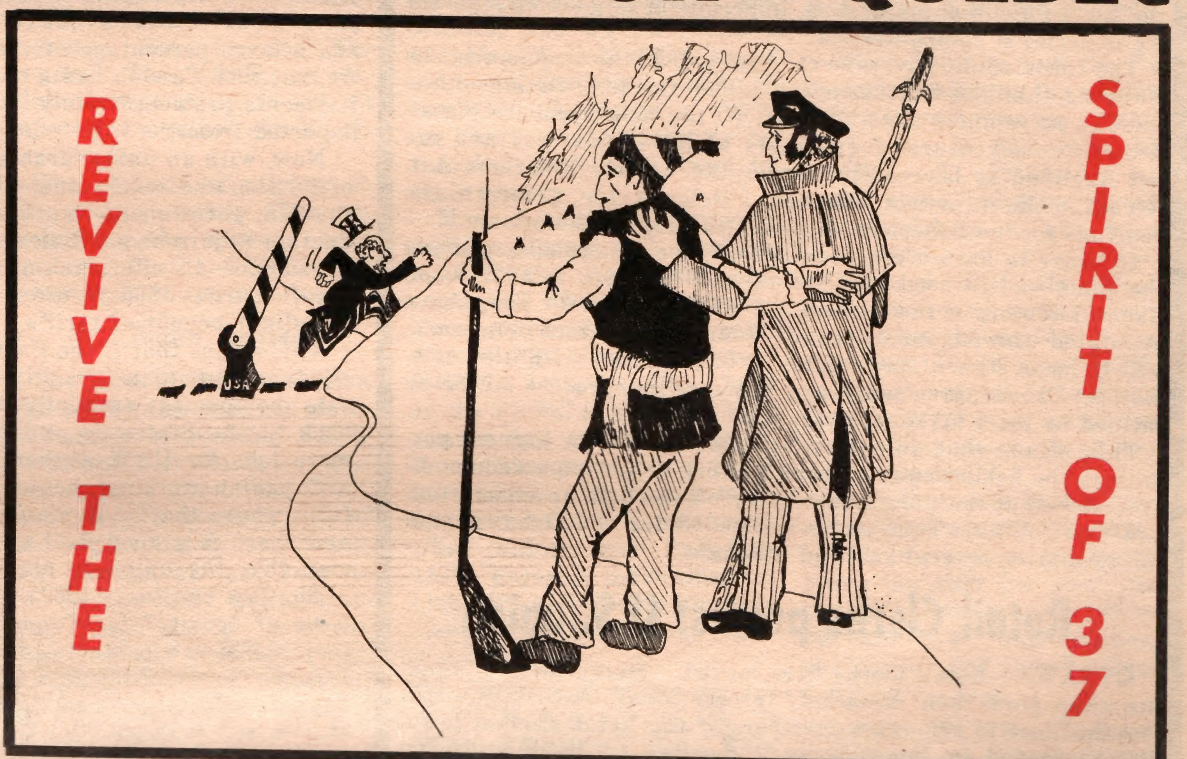


CLM leads York Victory

TORONTO — On Wednesday, October 21, the students of York University, led by the Canadian Liberation Movement York Club, won a major victory. They forced the Senate (the body, composed mostly of teaching staff, that governs the academic life of the university) to reverse itself and make available to the public statistics on citizenship of York faculty and graduate students.

York University was one of the last in the province to comply with the request of the Ontario Government's Committee on University Affairs to release statistics on the citizenship of all new hirings and new graduate students (broken down department by department) for the previous academic year.

The reason for this refusal to co-operate with a government commission is simple: York University, with less than half of its teaching staff Canadian, is one of the most heavily Americanized in the country.

Liberal Excuses

In an effort to confuse the concerned student body, the Senate thought up all kinds of liberal excuses for their refusal to release the figures: first, they said it was contrary to the Human Rights Code. Meanwhile, Hon. Leslie Frest, who wrote the code, has publicly stated that its provisions in no way apply to citizenship. Citizenship is a matter of public information.

Then they said that they were protecting the **privacy** of individuals — but no one ever asked for individual's names!

Then they said that the statistics would be used for **political purposes.** The York students were to prove that this one statement at least was true: that the Americanization of our universities is a political problem—part of the imperialist take-over of the country..

But, by taking the political act of refusing to release the statistics, the Senate proved its own guilt. Last year, only 47% of York's Faculty of Arts were Canadian. Many departments at York, especially Political Science and Sociology, have even fewer Canadian faculty. And in many graduate departments it's clear that Canadians barely have a chance to enroll because foreign students comprise more than 50 per cent of some departments. Last year 93 per cent of sociology Ph.D. students were non-Canadian—mostly Americans.

"Peace and Love U."

Meanwhile, the PR boys have been busily touting to the press how happy York students are with their American-type "college." No less than Serrell Hillman, former editor of "Canadian" **Time,** arrogantly boasted in the October issue of the high-society magazine **Toronto Life** that York is a university of "Peace and Love" where "Students have been reduced to protesting the Spadina Expressway and deploring the price (15 cents) of university coffee."

The York Canadian Liberation Movement, led by Vicki Postl, immediately realized the seriousness of the Senate's decision and that strong action would have to be taken to force the Senate to reverse it.

The student council called a protest rally, the largest in York's history until then. The President of York, Dr. Slater, calling for another Senate meeting to re-discuss the issue, to be held one week later. But the student council did not back up its demand.

Sit-In Demanded

At the rally, CLM called for a sit-in in the President's office if the demand was not met. Mrs. Postl said, "The Senate will not have another

continued page 8

"Sell-out will fail"—Mathews

Robin Mathews, the well-known Canadian patriot delivered a fiery speech at York University's Founder's College to end a hectic week in which the York Senate capitulated to student demands for release of hitherto secret statistics on citizenship of new staff.

In his speech, Mathews praised the students, led by the York club of the Canadian Liberation Movement, who had threatened a sit-in in the president's office if the figures were not released. But, he warned, the Americanization of our universities and our culture is proceeding at a breathless pace and we must do everything in our power to halt it before we lose our country.

Just a few examples of what has happened recently," he said, "are the following:

"The presidetns of Simon Fraser University, Victoria University and Lethbridge University are all American citizens;

"The new vice-president of Loyola University is an American citizen who has never taught a university course but who had some success in 'quelling student revolt' elsewhere;

"Out of 106 potential graduate English courses at the U of T, only one deals with Canadian literature and Claude Bissell, president of U of T, an expert in Canadian literature would rather set up a Canadian studies program at Harvard than teach it here."

Mathews also pointed out that the newly-formed Canadian Association for American Studies at York sent two American citizens to a convention at Johns Hopkins Unviersity on Canadian and American literature.

The speech also vehemently denounced the sell-out policies of the federal government and its invocation of the War Measures Act.

"Eight days ago Pierre Trudeau was an elitist sell-out bore, but now he has a gun in his hand. Quebec is being surrounded, separated. The wounds are so deep they may never heal."

Mathews recalled the long debate over the Closure Bill where opposition members tried to filibuster against this undemocratic move that would limit debate in Parliament. At that time, frustrated and angry, Trudeau told the members of Parliament that "Fifty feet away from here, you're all nothing!" Mathews pointed out that this reveals, perhaps more than anything, Trudeau's contempt for Parliament and his contempt for the Canadian people, and his desire to rule without Parliament.

Mathews bitingly attacked the government's sell-out of our resources. "The recent natural gas sell-out was effected through the National Energy Board, which is respnosible to no parliamentary body in Canada. Of such boards as the National Energy Board, Mr. Justice Porter of the Supreme Court of Alberta has said 'they are more unjust that any tribunal since the Courts of the Star Chamber in Tudor times'."

More and more, Mathews said, it is becoming obvious to the Canadian people that the Ottawa government doesn't represent them at all. The government is selling out our resuorces, our universities and our unique culture; and they are, with the hysteria generated by the War Measures Act, in fact trying to divide our country as never before.

But the Canadian people, led by those who see Socialism as the only road to independence are rising up and are being heard.

Finally Mathews said of Trudeau: "He has been cried up as the first of a new kind of politician:I think he will be shown by history quite soon to be the last of an old kind—the kind who tried to destroy Canada, who tried to sell it out—and failed."

LABOUR NEWS

Fishermen win

SYDNEY, N.S.—The eight-month strike by 250 Nova Scotia fishermen for protection of their minimal economic rights through a contract with the union of their choice, the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union (UFAW), is ending in victory.

The bitter battle between the UFAW and the American and British imperialist Booth and Acadia Fisheries rose to a crisis in late June when 7,500 Nova Scotia workers went out in support of the fishermen and threatened a general strike—a strike that was narrowly averted by the intervention of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour, which is dominated by U.S. unions.

Since that time, the companies have consistently refused to negotiate with the UFAW, claiming it is a "communist union."

At the same time, they said they would negotiate with any union in the Canadian Labour Congress—i.e. any union run by the labour lieutenants of U.S. imperialism is good enough for the imperialist companies.

The provincial government has aided the companies by claiming that the fishermen fall under the jurisdiction of the federal government. At the moment, the fishermen are classified as "co-adventurers" (partners of the companies) and are not qualified to be certified under the Labour Relations Act. Recently the province has again delayed for a month the hearings on the fishermen's application for certification.

In order to hasten the negotiations, the fishermen are using the same tactics used by Oshawa auto workers in 1937 when General Motors refused to settle with the UAW. They have appointed three committees of four UFAW members each, which have signed memoranda of agreement with the companies. These agreements are now in the process of being ratified by the UFAW membership.

This means that voluntary agreements will be signed, permitting the fishermen to go back to work under improved conditions, but that the union must carry on the fight to recognition and certification. This tactic succeeded for the Oshawa auto workers after several years of struggle.

Retail Clerks protest U.S. union

OTTAWA—Retail clerks here moved a step closer to breaking away from their so-called "International" Association this month. Close to 100 angry members of the Retail Clerks' Local 500 succeeded in interrupting a meeting of their American officers for over two hours in a noisy demonstration.

The Retail Clerks' "International" has about 35,000 Canadian members, but directors of all four of its Canadian regions are Americans. Local 500, which includes Ottawa and Montreal area workers, is under trusteeship, which means that members cannot hold election or control their own funds, and that the executive is appointed in the U.S.

The demonstrating Ottawa clerks demanded to know what was being done with their money. Tom Rees, national president of the newly-formed Canadian Merchandizing Employees Union, specifically charged the Yankee managers with mis-use of Local 500 funds.

The American "leaders" tried to calm the workers down by promising them "their own" Ottawa local, but admitted that it would have to continue under the trusteeship of U.S.-appointed officers. They also tried to scare off Rees with a slander suit. But the workers could easily see that they would be no better off in a U.S.-controlled Ottawa local, and threatened to break away.

The new Canadian Merchandising Employees' Union already has about 1,000 members in Newfoundland, Quebec and Ontario, and is growing rapidly.

Victory for women

On Dec. 1, Bill 83, An Act to Prevent Discrimination in Employment because of Sex or Marital Status, becomes law. This law not only makes it an offense, in Ontario, to discriminate against women in hiring, training and promoting, but states that female workers must receive the same pay for doing similar work under similar conditions as their male counterparts.

Although this Bill has its limitations, it is a great step forward in the fight against discrimination. It means that there will only be one wage list and one seniority list so that promotions, lay-offs and wages will be on an equal basis. Considering these gains for Ontario's women workers, it is hard to understand why the NDP's Stephen Lewis opposed and voted against the Bill.

Lewis said the bill did to go "far enough." More likely the international unions, whom Lewis serves, thought the bill went too far in granting rights to women.

After Dec. 1, most existing trade union contracts will have to be brought in line with the provisions of the new law. And, while the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour has been given the responsibility to implement the law, it will be a test of the determination of the trade unions to fight for the rights of women workers and make it work.

The recent contract won by the Canadian Textile and Chemical Union (CTC) from Harding Carpets in Brantford, shows the determination of a Canadian Union (affiliated to the Council of Canadian Unions) to fight for women's rights. The union was willing to fight right down to the wire, the night before the strike deadline, to get a two-year contract that insured equal pay for equal work—a single wage list that applies to both men and women workers.

Madeleine Parent, the Secretary-Treasurer of the union, who has for many years fought for legislation on this matter, said that achieving the single wage list is a protection for both men and women as it tends to eliminate the use of women as cheap labour, as well as bringing women into a state of greater equality.

CLC wants auto jobs moved back South

By Paul MacRae

OSHAWA — There are some subjects the United Auto Workers leadership don't like to talk about - especially to Canadian workers.

And in the midst of the "continent-wide" auto workers' strike against General Motors, the union hasn't had much to say about revisions in the 1965 U.S.-Canadian Auto Pact coming up this fall. This silence could mean another sellout of Canadian workers by their "international" unions.

Under the 1965 Pact, automobiles and auto parts move across the border duty free, but car companies were required to make in Canada a large percentage of the cars sold here. At that time Canada had a massive balance of payments problem, mainly due to automobiles imported from the U.S.

Now, with an unfavourable balance of trade of its own and severe unemployment at home, the U.S. government wants to cancel the production requirements, but keep the free trade provisions—in effect taking Canada back to the disastrous 1965 position, this time without the slight benefit of tariffs.

This means that if the Pact is revised, thousands of Canadian jobs will disappear as the auto companies gradually shift production back to the States — and incidently, create more jobs for UAW workers in that country.

Canadian workers should watch very carefully where the UAW stands on this issue—and there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the union is planning a sellout.

The last contract (1967) was fought on the issue of "parity" for Canadian workers with their American brothers, and Canadians had little say in choosing this issue. To their credit, many Canadian locals protested that they wanted to negotiate their own contract based on Canadian conditions, but they were overruled.

"Parity" could mean that with Canada no longer a "low-wage" area, the auto companies will be encouraged to shift production back across the border.

In negotiating the current contract, the "international" union has tightened up even more on Canadian workers. For the first time Canadian and American contracts expired on the same day, and for the first time the UAW is negotiating a "continent-wide" contract and running a "continent-wide" strike.

As a coincidence, it was Canadian UAW president Dennis McDermott who led the fight against the Waffle group at the recent Ontario NDP leadership convention. Waffle is the only group in the NDP with any serious program to fight American domination of this country, but McDermott explained that he was uneasy about the Waffle's negative attitude toward "international"—i.e. American-controlled—unions, and swung votes against the Waffle in the interests of "international solidarity."

In an interview with **New Canada**, a UAW official in Toronto said the union was lobbying in Ottawa and Washington to keep the Auto Pact "basically as it is," but the word hadn't reached UAW "international" president Leonard Woodcock as of last June.

Instead of coming out solidly against revising the Pact, the Toronto Telegram reported June 8 that Woodcock merely wanted the union to be "involved in the discussions." He also remarked that the auto industry should be "rationalized"—a fancy way of saying that the production requirements should be reduced.

Nor have the Canadian representatives of labour come out against revising the Pact. Far from it. As a member of the notorious Canadian-American Committee, Canadian Labour Congress president Donald MacDonald signed a policy statement that favoured revising the production requirements (Globe & Mail, June 22). CLC research director Russell Bell and William Mahoney, U.S.-appointed Canadian director of the United Steelworkers, also signed the policy statement.

If the policy statement does not reflect the Canadian Labour Congress' views on changing the pact, as the UAW official told **New Canada**, then why did MacDonald and his cronies sign the document, and why are they on the Committee at all?

The UAW clamis it is in the union's and the companies' interest to keep the production requirements—after all, GM alone has millions of dollars in plant and equipment invested in Canada. But the facts tell a different story.

American subsidiary plants are closing all over Canada as companies "rationalize" production to cope with inflation and unemployment back home. And the UAW has not fought, for example, GM's decision to move its Toronto Frigidaire plant to Toledo, Ohio, affecting 400 jobs. Nor did the union take action when Chrysler recently fired Canadian truckdrivers, members of the UAW, so that American drivers could do all the shipping of auto parts from Detroit to Windsor.

As a U.S.-dominated union, the UAW is not unhappy when Canadian jobs are shifted down to the States.

Not that the 1965 Auto Pact was such a good deal for Canadians. It wasn't. When it was signed, the Pact was supposed to create more employment and bring down car prices.

But workers at the Oshawa plant say that employment has dropped there since the Pact came into effect—to 12,500 jobs from about 15,000 in 1965. And working conditions have deteriorated as the company has instituted speed-ups and reduced manpower in many operations (see story page 9).

Prices haven't come down either. Despite "free trade," Canadian car prices are still 20 per cent higher than in the U.S. The only reason, auto makers admit, is that Canadians expect to pay more and do.

The recent five per cent re-evaluation of the Canadian dollar hasn't affected car prices either, even though Americans can now import cars into Canada five per cent cheaper.

The Canadian government is even giving free gifts to companies that don't meet the production requirements. Last year the government "forgave" Ford Motor Co. $75 million in duties when that company didn't meet the production quota. That amount could have given Canada's 120,000 auto workers a $12 a week raise.

The demands of GM workers for higher wages and better working conditions are just demands. Profits in the auto industry are higher than almost any other business, and the companies can well afford a pay increase and better working conditions.

But Canadian workers should also be raising the issue of the Auto Pact, and demand that the UAW fight hard to keep Canadian jobs.

Canada's auto workers have talked about forming an independent Canadian union, but many fear they will be powerless against the giant "international" car companies without an "international" union.

These workers should remember that Canadian auto workers were the first to organize in North America, forming the Canadian Automobile Workers Union in 1926. Canadian union organizers were asked into the U.S. to help set up the American union.

Canada's auto workers were "organized" into the American union in 1937 by sell-out Canadian leadership, but there is nothing to stop Canadians from again forming a strong, militant Canadian union to fight the car companies as we have in the past.

Scab housing dropped

HAMILTON — Due to tremendous popular pressure, the Hamilton and District Labour Council has been forced to drop its planned scab-built housing project. At the insistence of Council chief Stew Cooke, the Council has not yet admitted this publicly.

The project (see **New Canada, Vol. 1, No. 5**), Cooke's brainchild, was to have provided "middle-income housing" built by non-union labour. Cooke is the Pittsburgh - appointed Hamilton District Supervisor for the United Steelworkers of America.

Now that the Council has decided to drop the project, it has to foot the $65,000 bill that Cooke has already run up — this represents almost two years income for the Council.

Although almost all workers and progressive people are outraged at the latest in Cooke's long line of class betrayals, the USA is not. The current rumour is that Cooke may soon be promoted to Canadian headquarters of the USA in Toronto, where he would assist Bill Mahoney in the hard job of selling-out Canadian workers.

Hamilton's gain will be Toronto's loss.

In Vancouver . . .

Women work for Canadian unions

By CHARLOTTE BEDARD
and CATHY WALKER

(Reprinted from PEDESTAL, October 1970)

VANCOUVER—One of the major priorities of Vancouver Women's Caucus is working with and educating working women. When we heard in June that an electronics plant employing 80 per cent women workers was hiring summer replacements, the two of us decided to take the opportunity to put theory into action.

The plant (Cascade Electronics in Port Moody) had just gotten certification with the Canadian Electrical Workers (CEW), an independent Canadian union with genuine rank-and-file control of the bureaucrats (at least on paper). The women at Cascade had essentially organized themselves, with a minimium of outside help. We felt that given the beginnings of discussion about a women's union, it would be valuable to have experience with a recognized trade union.

We were hired as assembly line workers. Charlotte was on afternoon shift with 100 per cent casual (summer) employees and Cathy was on day shift with a substantial number of casual employees, but mostly regular workers. Because of the composition of the two shifts, our objectives became two-fold: Charlotte to attempt to discuss mostly general issues of women's oppression and Cathy to try to talk more specifically about issues of ongoing interest within the plant.

First Leaflet

After talking to the women for several weeks, we decided to direct a leaflet specifically to the casual women. It talked about past militant strikes involving women workers in B.C. (particularly Lenkurt), the improvements in wages, conditions and job security within the plant since certification; and urged women workers to continue to take a leadership position within the union; as well as urging those casuals moving on to other factories to attempt to get unionization there.

The leaflet also talked about further issues that the union should tackle at next contract negotiations if it were to truly represent the interests of the union members, namely, equal job opportunities within the plant and plant operated and worker-controlled day care.

First Mass Grievance

The favourable response to this leaflet laid the groundwork for fighting the first grievance involving more than one or two individuals. According to the contract, the afternoon shift should have been given an additional 10 cents per hour shift differential above the base rate of $2.13 per hour. We discovered this after plowing through the contract which we had smuggled off the union notice board (the company, after three months, had still not printed up the contracts — keep 'em down by keepin' 'em ignorant). Charlotte talked the issue up among the casual afternoon shift workers.

She found he toughest opposition was the shop steward who was reticent to grieve the issue for several reasons: she was a shop steward but also a supervisor, therefore there was an obvious conflict of interests; the grievance procedures were unfamiliar since certification had been so recent; we were "only" casual workers and wouldn't be there after the end of August anyway.

It was difficult for her to understand that if this issue was not challenged immediately the company would have the precedent of contract-breaking, one which would allow them to start any regular afternoon shift at the same wages. In spite of fears of being fired, in spite of fears of not having the possibility of getting on as a permanent employee, nine (out of about 20, not all of whom had been spoken to about the issue) afternoon-shift women signed the grievance forms. The grievance was won and granted retroactively to all the workers. The women had united and won!

The W.C.T.U.

Charlotte quit soon after the grievance was won to go to Vancouver Vocational School to upgrade her secretarial skills. Cathy is now working as a permanent emplayee at Cascade and will stay on until she is fired or laid off.

We and several other women in Women's Caucus as well as one woman who was involved in the Lenkurt srtike and in the formation of the CEW have formed the Women for Canadian Trade Unions (WCTU). We hope to involve women who already work in Cascade and Phillips Cables, the other plant in the Local, in discussions and actions relevant to them. There have been only (excluding ourselves) seven women spread over three meetings in three months who have gone to the regular monthly union meetings. The meetings are dry, dull and do not relate to the workers', particularly women workers'. real needs.

As well as attempting to involve women factory workers in the WCTU, we are trying to get union approval and sponsorship of a plant newspaper at Cascade. At first we will have to do most of the writing, but hopefully much of it will soon be taken over by the women themselves.

We also hope to involve women workers at Cascade in the leafleting we're doing of plants having a majority of women workers, that either do not yet have a union or which have a hack "International" (American) union whose primary interest is in supporting the labour bureaucrats in the states, rather than supporting the interesst of the workers here in Canada.

We feel that working within and helping to build the existing Canadian, democratic, trade union movement is one of the first steps to building a viable working women's movement.

How not to fight Bill 167

TORONTO — On October 14, 15,000 construction workers walked off their jobs to demonstrate in front of Queen's Park against Bill 167.

This anti-labour legislation was drafted by Professor Crispo of the University of Toronto School for Industrial Relations who is not only a close friend of the Canadian leaders of U.S. unions but is also the leading ideologist for American unionism in Canada, paid by the notorious Canadian-American Committee to write a justification for American unionism, **International Unions in Canada.** The main function of his Bill is to weaken the construction unions which are seen as the vanguard of the working class in terms of the economic struggle.

It does this through government-enforced employers' associations which force all construction subcontractors (the small companies who handle the plumbing or the carpentry work of a large building) to sign only one contract. These small contractors, who are always operating on the edge of economic disaster, cannot face a long strike because they have to pay the banks whether or not work is being done and profits are coming in. This means that they are often willing to settle for higher wages and better conditions to avoid a long strike. Under the new law, they will not be permitted to do this. As a result many will go bankrupt. What is actually happening is that the imperialists who control the government are enforcing class discipline on the small contractors, most of which are locally-owned companies.

Meanwhile, the large imperialist-controlled companies will be able to keep workers' wages down through their legal combinations, normally called cartels. This raises the question: Does this law violate the federal anti-combines legislation?

The phoney leaders of the U.S. construction unions know full well that there's going to be trouble next spring during negotiations and that this law is going to be one of the main weapons against their members. This is why they had to stage a demonstration, because next spring thousands of workers are going to wonder why their big "international" unions didn't fight this law.

Then, the phoneys will throw up their hands and say they did their best and the only solution is to vote NDP. But, their "best" it little better than nothing. Despite their show of strength, the government refused to change a comma of the Bill. The show of strength was only a show—professionally organized with no involvement at the rank and file level. The demonstration was co-sponsored by the Ontario Federation of Labour, but only the construction workers were asked to turn out. Yet, all the unions in Ontario will be affected by this law which makes union organizing more difficult. David Archer, president of the OFL, was there: but next year, as a one who sits on the Labour Relations Board, he'll be enforcing the law, not fighting it.

Clearly the Ontario government does not have to give a thought to the feeble opposition the U.S. labour lieutenants have raised to Bill 167. Only concerted militant action by the rank and file, in the form of general strike, can strike a blow at this piece of pro-imperialist legislation.

UNIVERSITY BRIEFS

New Americanization study

VANCOUVER—A study on the Americanization of the University of British Columbia, "The Approximate Citizenship Composition of U.B.C. Faculty," has recently been released which reveals that over the past five years, when Canada has producing great numbers of Ph.D.s, that university has been hiring only 9 Canadians for every 11 foreign academics.

The study, written by Art Smolensky and Tony Hodge, expresses alarm at this discrimination against Canadians, because "if Canada is to exist in some measure as the master of her own destiny, its independent future must be assured via a predominantly **Canadian** education of its young."

While the over-all picture indicates that about 74 per cent of the faculty are Canadian citizens, more detailed examination shows that in the key ideological departments Canadians are either in a minority or a bare majority: in Anthropology and Sociology, Americans outnumber Canadians two to one; in the English Department there are 39 per cent more foreigners than Canadians; and in the Political Science department, there are eight non-Canadians and seven Canadians.

In addition, the authors show that only two American professors in their sample took out Canadian citizenship while 33 qualified for it. Of American professors with an average residence in Canada of 6½ years, only 41 per cent said they intended to become Canadian citizens.

In view of the need to build Canadian universities and because of the difficulty Canadian university graduates have findng jobs, the report urged that tenure should only be granted to Canadian citizens.

Kolko wins immigrant status

After a three-month battle with Canadian immigration authorities Gabriel Kolko, a radical American historian, was allowed to immigrate to Canada.

In May 1970, York University hired Kolko as a full professor with tenure to teach in the history department. The author of such books as the **Politics of War,** a study showing U.S. responsibility for starting the Cold War, and **Wealth and Power in America,** a Marxist analysis of the American class structure, he has won international recognition for his studies of U.S. imperialism.

In June, the Board of Governors of York University confirmed his appointment.

Having met all normal immigration requirements, Kolko applied to the Canadian authorities for permission to settle in Canada and take up his teaching post at York.

In the past four years more than three thousand U.S. academics have been hired to teach in Canadian universities. It is well known that clearance with Immigration authorities for "respectable" American academics is a formality.

However in the case of Gabriel Kolko the system reversed itself. On July 27 he received a letter refusing him admission to Canada.

He was told that his admission to Canada was "contrary to Canadian public interest."

The Government was acting on information supplied to it by the American CIA and the FBI.

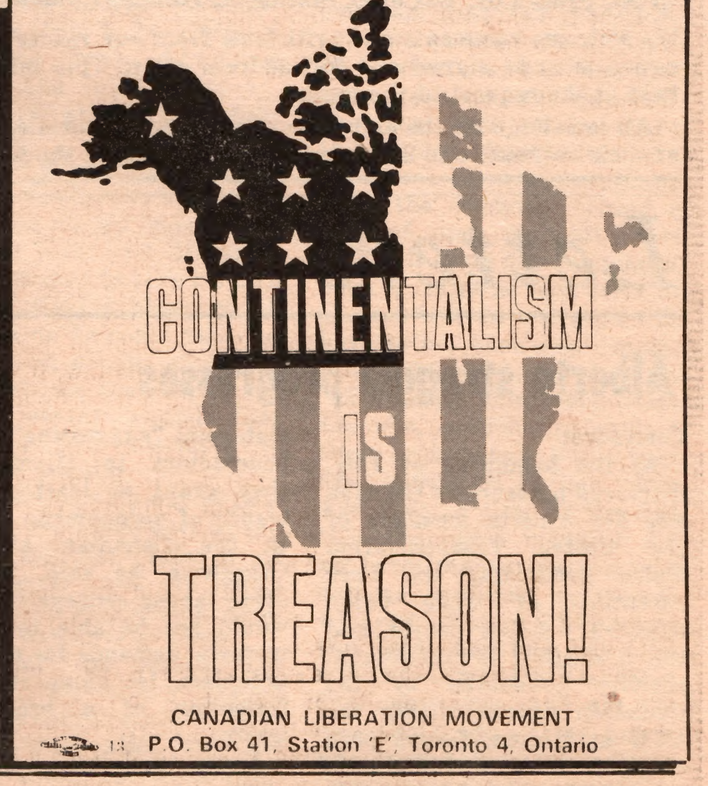
The student newspaper **Excalibur** broke the story to the public, charging Immigration of political discrimination and demanding that Kolko be admitted to Canada. With the issue out in the open events began to move quickly.

The **Toronto Star** and the **Globe & Mail** supported Kolko.

Kolko's lawyer, Paul Copeland, threatened the Government with a writ of mandamus which meant that Immigration would have to state in court the reason for denying Kolko landed immigration status, the first step toward taking out Canadian citizenship.

Faced with unfavourable public pressure and legal intimidation, the Government reversed itself. Ottawa accepted Kolko's second application, this time made internally, to immigrate.

About the victory Copeland said: "The Government would not hesitate to withstand public pressure if it didn't have to show its hand. In fact, the Government didn't have anything on Kolko at all."



CANADIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT
P.O. Box 41, Station 'E', Toronto 4, Ontario

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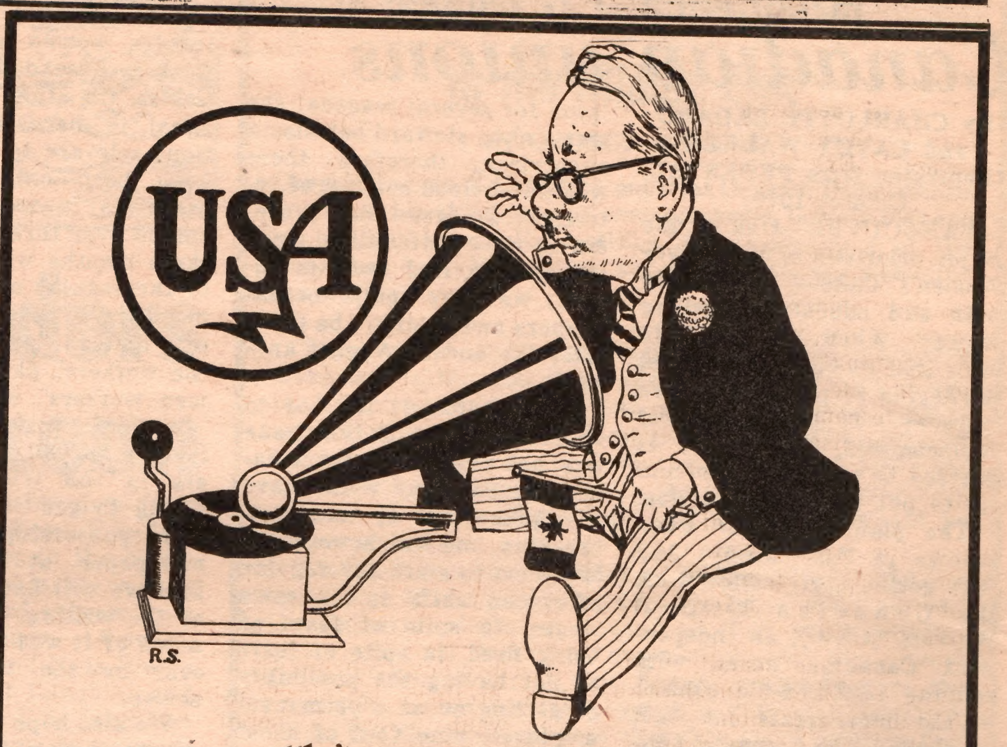
Editorial

Waving the maple leaf to oppose the maple leaf



"his master's voice..."

The struggle for independence and socialism has reached such a level among workers and progressive people in Canada lately that the 'estate managers' and apologists for foreign landlords have had to set up their own phoney independence movement in a desperate manoeuver to keep the lid on things.

Last month, the Toronto Daily Star, sometime spokesman for the national bourgeoisie, announced "the formation of a new mass movement to save Canadian independence," implying that somehow Canada is now independent.

At their press conference in Toronto on Sept. 16, members of the new organization, called the Committee for an Independent Canada, indicated their awareness of the growing anti-imperialist feeling in this country, although they acted as if they were surprised.

"There is a wave of interest never known before. People have an extraordinary belief in Canada," exclaimed committee chairman Jack McClelland. He seemed to be in no doubt as to the source of this wave, however, when he went on to say that most of the support for the C.I.C. was expected to come from workers and students across the country.

McClelland certainly knows who he needs to do his fighting for him, but in fact closer scrutiny indicates that the C.I.C. is more interested in 'cooling it' than in leading Canada to independence. The officers are more afraid of their soldiers than of the enemy. But of course they're pretty scared of the enemy too.

The committee statement declares at the outset that it does "not want to close this country to the foreign capital it needs . . ." and yet its general tone is one of alarm at the rate and destiny of specifically U.S. investment in Canada.

Again, in a special appeal to Quebec nationalists, the C.I.C. points out that separatism "is nourished by this country's ominous drift into continentalism . . ." At the same time, co-chairman Claude Ryan, who was chosen to represent Canada's French-speaking population, had this to say on the subject of U.S. imperialism: "This committee is not undertaken in the spirit of hostility. We want to define clearly the ground rules."

What is going on here? At first the C.I.C might be taken as a bid by small and middle-size businessmen, increasingly pressured by the U.S. takeover, to capture the reins of the independence movement. But in the central and obviously only really significant recommendation of the manifesto, the C.I.C. vaguely urges the government to do something to increase Canadian ownership of the economy. When it comes down to concrete suggestions, the C.I.C. limits itself to a holding action: set up a Canada Development Corp., and create a federal agency to supervise foreign-controlled operations.

Are these the firebreathing 51 per centers of the heyday of Walter Gordon? Not likely.

True the committee has one genuine, if misguided, nationalist in the person of Alvin Hamilton, Diefenbaker's Minister of Agriculture. And, McClelland himself is a desperate Toronto publisher, who is being forced to the wall by the cultural invasion from the south. Elsewhere on the committee are a mediocre architect, John C. Parkin and a disgruntled ad man, Jerry Goodis, who recently lost a big account because of a U.S. takeover.

This group within the C.I.C. represents the national bourgeoisie, the class of middle-sized capitalists who, on the one hand, are not big enough to sell out the country; but on the other, are small enough to feel the pressures of imperialist competition. Their private grievances are reflected in inane manfiesto demands such as, "Canada's environment should be designed by Canadians." Never mind who owns it!

The only reference to labour in the manifesto is a clause recommending autonomy for Canadian trade unions. The word 'independence' does not occur in this clause, conspicuous in its absence because it occurs almost everywhere else.

The mysterious uncertainty of the C.I.C. as to where it wants to take a definite stand becomes easier to explain when we examine some of the **other** committee members. We are hardly dealing with even middle-sized businessmen here, but with the comprador bourgeoisie—that class of big Canadian capitalists who are very closely allied to U.S. imperialism and who basically make their living by selling out the country.

Of eleven committee members at least one is **directly employed** by the imperialists: J. H. Moore of Labatt's and Brascan Ltd. (both successful "Canadian" enterprises, and both are owned by International Utilities).

At least three members are active agents of the Americans: Eamon Park of the United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIA, the left hand of U.S. imperialism); E. A. Goodman, QC, the Bay St. lawyer who helped put the skids to Diefenbaker, and the above quoted Claude Ryan, editor-publisher of Le Devoir, a member of the notorious Canadian American Committee that recently came out in favour of removing the Canadian production requirements (and thus, Canadian jobs) from the auto pact.

As honorary chairman, Walter Gordon, former federal finance minister and champion of the "buy back Canada" theory, seems to lend patriotic respectability to the movement. But some Canadians tend to forget who Walter Gordon really is.

Gordon, senior partner in a prestigious Toronto firm of chartered accountants, is an advisor and consultant to both the very people who owe their existence to selling out the country, and the foreigners who are buying it up.

Gordon has been known to profess ignorance that the Liberal Party (to which he belongs) receives 75 per cent of its funds from U.S. businesses in Canada. Not bad for a chartered accountant.

It is doubtful that Gordon has ever really been the least interested in stopping the sale of Canada; he does not want to give it away, of course, he simply wants the best price he can get for himself and his clients, while the rest of the country can "like it or lump it." Naturally, he needs all the help he can get, which is why he poses as a nationalist, using the just indignation of the Canadian people as a bargaining lever.

The C.I.C. is not even for "an independent capitalist Canada"—it's just for a better deal under U.S. imperialism. If this is the best the bourgeoisie can do (and it is), it shows how bankrupt they are.

Even if Gordon were to repurchase Canada (and he does not seem to want to very much anymore) it would only be to sell it all over again, because that is how he and his class make a living, a transaction, when it involves human beings, known as slaving. Of course he could always rent it, an occupation, by the same token, known as pimping.

In its preamble on Canada's history, for instance, the traditional adversaries of the Canadian people are identified as "the cold, the wind and stubborn rock . . ." which is as much as saying that all the Cubans have to worry about are hurricanes.

The constant enemies of the Canadian people are now and have always been the British and American imperialists. That is what our history is all about. But, Gordon and his friends have collaborated with the foe, enriching themselves at the expense of their countrymen. The very composition of the C.I.C. shows that they are still willing to collaborate with the enemy. Thus, their call for all-class unity is phoney — there can be unity only on the basis of **fighting** U.S. imperialism.

The revolution against U.S. imperialism is going to be led by the proletariat and will go forward over the dead body of the C.I.C., if necessary.

NEW CANADA

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All articles, with the exception of unsigned editorials, represent the opinions of their authours and are not necessarily those of the publisher.

Letters

Alberta struggle progresses

Comrades:

At the beginning of July, increased pressure by the rank and file Alberta members of the United Transportation Union demanding the mere essentials of trade union democracy so far denied, and the intensified organizational activity conducted by the Canadian caucus within the UTU at Hinton, forced pork chopper William Pilkington, local 1235, to make a public statement "suggesting" to his benefactors in Miami that they grant at least a semblance of autonomous control to the Canadian affiliates. Otherwise, he said, he and other labour croneys like him would not be able to pacify workers' demands for militant unionism, let alone stop the formation of a breakaway union.

Little has happened on either side since the statement was released and it is now rumoured that Yankee headquarters intends to give some form of token representation to their Northern adjuncts at the next convention to supposedly discuss problems of a strictly Canadian nature This is to be followed by the "election" of new Canadian officers. The procedure to be established is one of granting votes only to the bureaucrats within each local in accordance with candidates already sanctioned by Miami.

More recently, the National Farmers Union has, over the period of the last four weeks, been conducting a militant picket throughout the province of Alberta against agrobusiness headed up by the United Grain Growers and the Alberta Wheat Pool, both controlled by Labatt's Breweries who in turn is controlled by Brascan, controlled by International Utilities, controlled by International Telegraph & Telephone (the biggest U.S. imperialist corporation in the world). Farmers' demands range from the acceptance of their union as the sole bargaining agent for producers in Northern Alberta, to a just price for seed grains, hogs, eggs, beef, etc., and a voice in the establishment of price guidelines to the consumer, lowering the commodity price from 25 - 30 per cent and still an ample return for the corporation.

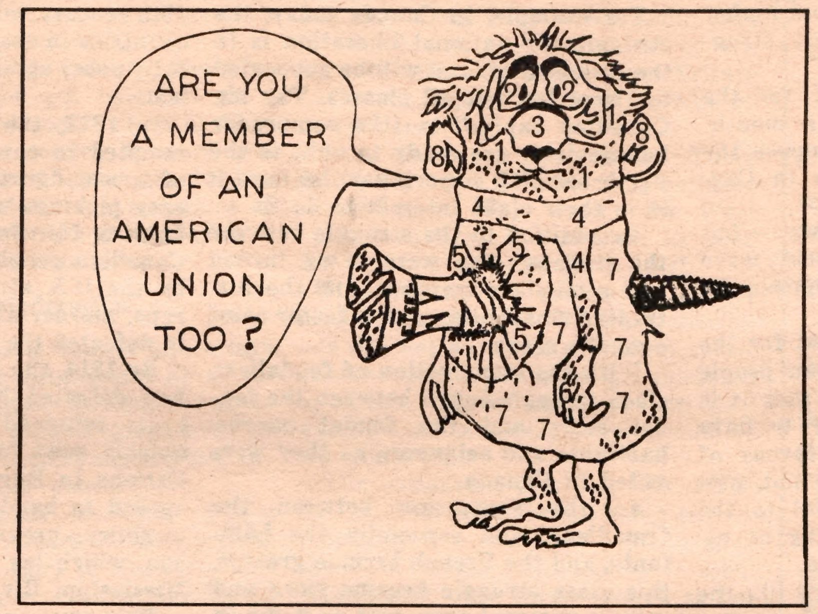
Many conscious working class people have expressed militant solidarity with the farmers by organizing sympathy pickets and through moral condemnation of the "law enforcement agencies," company spies, and company-controlled courts, which through the instigation of violence and labour injunctions, are futily attempting to undermine the determination of farmers in winning their just demands. More in-depth accounts of this and other peoples' struggles will be forwarded to you with the publication of our newspaper, finally to be released in the second week of September.

TO AN INDEPENDENT AND SOCIALIST CANADA.

Rene Detroye,
Edmonton Labour Defence
Committee for the publication
of a peoples' newspaper.

Letters

The true colours of "international" unionism


ARE YOU A MEMBER OF AN AMERICAN UNION TOO ?
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Brothers—:

I have acquired through your booth at the Canadian National Exhibition several "Canadian Unions for Canadian Workers" stickers.

After having read several of your articles concerning american involvement in Canadian unions, I became incensed at the seemingly rampant inaction on the part of "Canadians" to combat this form of Continentalism. I felt that it was time this situation was totally destroyed.

In order to make this point in a humouristic way and to stick close to home. I have coloured in the sticker in the following way.

1. White face: usually attributed to sick or dying human body or organization.

2. Red eyes: from sleepless nights Canadians have spent trying to obtain a say in running "their" unions.

3. Red nose: from the enormous amount of partying and other excuses given to Canadian brothers in order to placate their need to run "their own" unions.

4. Purple neck and arm: called bruises or welts in medical profession usually attributed to throttling of constructive Canadian union ideas in forms of american ones and twisting collective Canadian brothers' arms to keep them in line.

5. Red around screw: blood and inspiration taken from or caused to flow from our Canadian brothers by americans who want to keep Canadian unions american.

6. Red hands: commonly called blood of Canadian brothers who have tried to do something about their conditions and who have been quietly liquidated by americans and mis-directed canadians, i.e canadian uncle Toms.

7. Green body: according to science, moss should only grow on north side of trunk (body); but in Canada, unions north, south, east and west are guilty of standing around and allowing the encroaching moss, i.e., american control to sweep over them and they're not doing anything to impede its diseased progress.

8. Red ears: through embarrassment of canadian unions at realizing this is the true picture of union "brotherhood" between Canada and United States. This also signifies the determination that Canadians will finally stand as one and resist this worst form of continentalism: the subjugation of the minds of the Canadian Workers.

Thomas Edward Wright.
Toronto.

Canada threatened

Dear Sirs;

While in Yorkville a few weeks ago I came across some of your windshield stickers, **"Continentalism is Treason."** This interested me a great deal and I am now writing to ask for information on your Movement, your ideas and opinions, and how one could become a member of the Movement.

Until recently I have never been a very patriotic Canadian. However, I have become increasingly aware of the threat to Canadian identity and independence by American dominance in our Arctic waters and the threat of the American ABM system policy on Canada. I want to know how this might be stopped.

Any information you can send me would be greatly appreciated.

N.M., Sutton West., Ont.

OISE's Greenfield

To the Editor:

I was very pleased to see your recent article on OISE— both in insight and accuracy you far surpassed the **Globe and Mail's** attempt last spring.

One aspect of the career of Dr. Greenfield, the chairman of the Dept. of Educational Administration, that you failed to mention can only be termed a purge—with Greenfield presiding. During an effort to organize a CUPE local among the staff last winter and spring, Greenfield's department provided a major base of support. This is hardly surprising — it is the most poorly administered and most authoritarian department at OISE.

Six staff members from this department were active in the organizing drive. Two are still at OISE—two were fired and at least one other was under heavy pressure to leave.

This is how Ontario's educators are taught to administrate: hire Canadians only when you can't find Americans, and fire anyone who demands to be treated with dignity.

William Postl,
Dept. of Sociology in
Education, OISE.

Yankee go home

Dear Sirs,

I have just learned through a column in **The Guardian** (AC/DC) that you are publishing a monthly newspaper. Enclosed is a cheque for a subscription. I'd appreciate hearing from you as to your affiliations and your political ideology.

AMERICAN CAPITALISM OUT OF CANADA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

C. H., Montreal.

Women's Lib

Comrades:

I read with great interest the article by your writer, "Women must FIGHT for equal pay" (New Canada, July 1970). I would appreciate any follow-up information you may have acquired concerning Bill 83. If possible we (Thunder Bay Womens Lib.) would like a copy of the Bill or sources to contact for further information.

M. W., Thunder Bay.

Why our branch-plant intellectuals must be rooted out

By GAIL GROVE

Intellectuals are people who are paid to think. As a result, most intellectuals think just like the people who pay them.

People who pay others to 'think aloud' for them are people who have either a lot of spare cash or a lot to hide—or both.

This 'spare cash' that goes to patronize the arts and fund the universities is but a small part of the profits that the imperialists and their well-heeled Canadian friends steal from the mass of Canadian working people. Most of this money, donated so graciously to the cause of higher culture, can be written off as a 'business expense' because the job of the intellectuals who receive it is to give the ruling class a 'good name.'

Perhaps no better example of this fact can be chosen than the recent collection of essays published by the **Canadian Forum** in honour of its Fiftieth Anniversary.

The **Canadian Forum** started out as a near house organ of CCF intellectuals in the thirties and forties when it was owned by the League for Social Reconstruction. Now, it's under new management. The editorial board includes an even selection of members of both NDP and Liberal parties. Add to this a group of colonial-minded academics and you have the intellectual civil service of the American Empire (Canada) Ltd.

Of the 35 or so political essays in this special issue, one third are outright pro-imperialist statements, having as their focus vicious attacks on the Canadian Left and patriotic persons like Mel Watkins, Robin Mathews and James Steele. There are three mild token statements by Watkins and James Laxer of the NDP Waffle Group and by Margaret Prang on the need for independence and socialism. But the rest of their material is either confused or simply reactionary.

Not surprisingly the tone of the issue is set by one Joseph Starobin, an American teaching at York University and a former member of the Communist Party of the USA who describes himself as "a socialist America-Firster."

Starobin come out in praise of such luminaries as Richard Nixon, George Ball and Pierre Trudeau. He even suggests a strategy for us colonials— on the basis that "far sighted Americans are aware of Canada's improved position in the post-industrial society and in a world of competitive coexistence."

They're aware all right—aware of the extent to which they plunder our country. Starobin suggests that we play along with the imperialists but not sell them our resources. No indeed. He says we should GIVE them away in return for ecological safeguards that would **"increase"** Canada's sovereignty

He holds up the restrictions placed on the Manhattan as a brilliant example of what he means . . . conveniently forgetting that Humble Oil (that's Imperial Esso) is now building a huge ice breaker of its own that makes Canada powerless to even demand safeguards.

Anyway Starobin has been around long enough to know that "ecological safeguards" are no substitute for placing the control of resources and industry firmly in the hands of the Canadian people—and Starobin does not want that to happen.

Few of the Canadians in the issue have the audacity to openly suggest how Canadians can best aid Washington. It falls to another American academic teaching at U of T, Dennis Duffy to suggest that the movement for Canadian liberation helps Washington. "Tears of rage from client states serve to confirm that American imperialism provides for freedom and diversity."

Hugh Thorburton (of Queen's University) celebrates a book by William Kilbourn (of York University) which celebrates the Trans-Canada Pipeline. The building of the pipeline, financed by Canadian taxes to the profit of Texas promoters and some Canadian politicians is one of the great Imperialist robberies in our history. Kilbourn's book was financed by Trans-Canada Pipelines Ltd.—a fact which Thorburn neglects to mention.

From the ridiculous to the sublime. Dennis Smith (who teaches politics at Trent University) tells us that U.S. imperialism is not a reality for the millions of people in Canada and around the world who are exploited and murdered by it, it's a (you guessed it) STATE OF MIND.

"Its economic and military aspects are only manifestations of much deeped psychological bonds which cannot be severed without trauma. It is the **idea** of America which hypnotizes the modern world and puts us all in her thrall."

Only a myopic professor could be **hypnotized** by U.S. imperialism as the world around him burns in revolt.

The most detestable article in the magazine is by one Peter Hughes (who teaches English at Victoria College and is on the editorial board of the **Forum**). His is a scurrilous attack on Mathews and Steele and all people committed to the repatriation of the universities and the country.

He states that Mathews' statistics are "bogus" and his evidence "slanted." In fact Mathews statistics have been proven accurate by recent studies released by the Committee of Ontario Presidents and the Onario Minister of Education.

Hughes' politics and his arrogance are best reflected in his own words, "Our leading chauvinists, who sound like a farcical revival of the Family Compact, have found some curious allies among the New Left; and their common cry echoes those of earlier and more full-throated forms of national socialism."

If Mr. Hughes wants to talk about fascism, let him talk about fascism where it is alive and well, let him talk about the imperialist genocide perpetrated on the Vietnamese peole, let him talk about the fascist repression of the black people of the United States . . . but why bother. Mr. Hughes is only concerned to protect imperialist sway in Canada.

Reading this "special" issue of the **Forum** one has the impression that someone took a look around, saw the rising anti-imperialist sentiment in this country, and ordered a piece of propaganda to make any national liberation struggle look "intellectually unrespectable."

Which makes it all the more surprising that Mel Watkins, leader of the NDP's Waffle Group and self-avowed anti-imperialist, should continue to be a member of the **Forum** editorial board. If Watkins is serious about anti-imperialist struggle, he should not be associated in any way with that nest of vipers. In fact, he should expose them for what they are: agents of U.S. imperialism.

Intellectuals have an important part to play in the anti-imperialist struggle. They have abilities in writing and research that are badly needed by the people of Canada. In countries where successful revolutions have taken place, the progressive intellectuals have played a valuable role.

In the contributors to the **Canadian Forum,** we are provided with a handy list of reactionary nitellectuals. They are to be despised and exposed as traitors to the people of Canada.

"A new stage of the Canadian nati

This is a speech given by the Chairman of the Canadian Liberation Movement to a conference of that organisation held in early October near Toronto.

The conference discussed both the theory and the strategy and tactics currently applicable to the national liberation struggle in Canada.

Among the specific topics gone into were Canadian unions, why we need them and how to build them; the Canadian quota system in universities and colleges, what it is and how to win it; unity of the anti-imperialist forces across the country and how to achieve it.

Due to space limitations, we are unable to reprint the entire speech here. The second half will appear next month.

We invite comments from our readers on the contents of the speech.

By GARY PERLY

We have reached a new and higher stage in the anti-imperialist struggle in Canada.

It is no longer sufficient for the imperialists or their local mouthpieces to oppose us or to oppose the national liberation struggle in Canada directly and openly.

Of course, they still do this — but now they must also, so to speak, wave the maple leaf in order to oppose the maple leaf.

In other words, the support for the struggle among the Canadian people has increased to the point that it is now an historical necessity to have groups claiming to be in favour of the struggle who in fact are not, who are not going to be helpful to the cause and who are preparing an attempt to divert the struggle.

It is the founding of groups like the Parti Quebecois and the Committee for an Independent Canada that is the sign-post of this change. The development of organisations of this nature is the proof positive that the struggle has advanced to a higher stage.

To have the tools to analyse the present situation fully, and understand what are our present tasks, it is necessary to go back and examine even if quickly, some Canadian history.

The History of Canada is the History of Class Struggle

Since the first European came to Canada, there has been a bitter class struggle going on in this country — which involved many classes, some of which don't exist anymore.

This was generally not true of the early Indian and Eskimo societies be**cause, on the whole they were classless—on the level of primitive communism. That is, the society on the one hand was primitive in technological and social development, but (or as a result) there were no classes—all property was held in common.**

Canada was initially colonised by French feudal imperialists who conquered most of present-day Canada (as well as much of the USA), defeated the native Indians and imposed the system of feudalism on Canada.

After the initial conquest, the Indians were still very numerous and bitter class struggle continued between the Indians and the French.

But, why say **class struggle—why** not say **national struggle? In fact, it** was **both.** As Mao has pointed out: "In the final analysis, national struggle is class struggle."

For example, in Canada today, the struggle for national liberation is in the interests of, and will be supported by, most but not all classes. The big Canadian capitalists (the comprador bourgeoisie) are ready to fight to the death for U.S. imperialism because it is in their cla$$ intere$t to do so.

In addition to the struggle between the Indians, who were being turned into semi-slave trappers, and the fur-trading monopolies, a new factor came onto the scene.

With the introduction of feudalism, class struggle began between the feudal serfs and the feudal barons, habitants and seigneurs as they were called in Canada.

As the separation between the Canadiens, and especially the habitants, and the French became greater, this class struggle became more and more a national one—just as it did in the other European colonies in the Americas—the English, Spanish and Portuguese.

But in Canada, a special situation came up before the contradictions could become sharp enough to force a fight between Canada and France—that was the British conquest.

The Conquest

Britain at the time of the conquest was already a capitalist country, but the British retained feudalism n Canada, as the heart of their policy of reconciliation with the local seigneurial-Church heirarchy. Some of the British conquerors bought up seigneuries and became feudal lords themselves.

The lot of the **habitant** worsened, both from the economic and social points of view, and the national struggle grew more bitter. This was especially true in the period after the American Revolution, which Canada did not join in because the local heirarchy wished to preserve its feudal privileges and feared revolution.

The "Polish Problem"

Beginning around the turn of the 19th century, Canada began to suffer from the "Polish problem" — being trapped between two imperialists. (Polish independence was held back for centuries by a three-sided attack from Russia, Prussia and Austria-Hungary). Whenever we turned to fight one, the other attacked us from the rear.

Strategically, this was a very great problem and was one of the main reasons the Canadian national liberation revolutions did not succeed in the 19th century, whereas almost all other countries in the Americas did successfully rebel against European colonialism.

In 1812, the U.S. imperialists attempted to conquer Canada by force of arms, figuring that we would be easy pickings while Britain was busy fighting Napoleon. The masses of the Canadian people rose up and, aroused by the U.S. atrocities of wide-spread rape, murder and pillage, resoundingly defeated the invaders.

By 1814, the British and their allies had defeated Napoleon and the redcoats returned to Canada. The U.S. quickly sued for peace, and in negotiations in Europe, the British again agreed to hand over to the U.S. that territory, previously a part of Canada, which lay between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

This was a continuation of the British policy of 1783 of making concessions to the U.S. to keep it from a too-close alliance with France, then the main enemy of British imperialism.

The heroic defense of 1812-1814 kept Canada out of the clutches of U.S. imperialism, but still left us as England's colonies. This was the first major example of the "Polish problem" in Canada.

Anti-Imperialist Revolution

In 1837, the Canadian people rose up to deal with British imperialism. Both in Lower Canada (Quebec) and in Upper Canada (Ontario), the great mass movements of progress and national liberation were forced to resort to armed struggle by British despotism.

Because of the wide-spread support among the people, the revolutionary wars continued for about two years, leading finally to the defeat of the popular forces.

The revolutions of 1837-39 failed because of vacillating leadership — some were quite solid, like Loundt and Chenier, but others, the more bourgeois, like Rolph and Parent, effectively went over — there was no cohesive, tested revolutionary leadership. The militarily defensive attitude adopted by the revolutionaries in both Upper and Lower Canada was very harmful—as well as the collusion between U.S. and British authorities.

The revolutions in Canada enjoyed the support of the British working-class movement, the Chartists, as well as the active aid of progressive demo-

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Revive the

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first arrested under the War Measures Act, has written in his book Negres blancs d'Amerique (The White Niggers of America — a book seized by the Montreal police in 1969):

> **Quebec since the establishment of the first trading post in Quebec City by Champlain in 1608 has always been submitted to the interests of the ruling class of the imperialist countries first France, then England and now the United States.**

* * *

> **The Canadian confederation has been nothing more than a vast financial transaction pulled by the bourgeoisie to the detriment of the workers of the country and particularly those of Quebec.**

Today, Quebec with 30 per cent of Canada's population has 41 per cent of unemployment. And, even as the news of the Cross kidnapping spread across the country, **vendu** (sell-out) Bourassa was busily engaged in New **York selling out Quebec as fast as he could to "buy" just a few of those 100,000 jobs he promised in the election. On the side, he was making plans to give away nearly half the rivers in Quebec by seeking some 2,000 million American dollars as a loan for the** James Bay hydroelectric development—the main function of which is to provide electricity to the power-short Eastern U.S.

The economic exploitation suffered by Quebec workers at the hands of the U.S. imperialists who own well over 60 per cent of the province's industry is one factor contributing to the advanced political situation in Quebec today—a situation that Trudeau, in invoking the Emergency Act, said was approaching insurrection.

Were we to see the struggle of the people of Quebec only in terms of its economic aspects, we would be hard pressed to explain why certain other provinces where exploitation and deprivation is even worse, as in the Maritimes, have not yet reached a similar stage.

Quebec Is A Nation

The important fact is that Quebec is not a province like the others. Quebec is a nation. A nation is a people with a common language, culture, history and territory whether or not it possesses a separate state government.

The people of Quebec have struggled and suffered through hundreds of years of national indignity and insults of the worst type and have been deprived of most of their national rights.

The British imperialist response to the revolutions in both Upper and Lower Canada in 1837—was to unite the two Canadas—and in such a way that neither would have real political power but that Lower Canada (Quebec) would be stripped of all rights. Their language was to be suppressed and great numbers of French Canadians were disenfranchised. This "solution" to the "French problem" was originally proposed by Lord Durham who had been urgently sent to Canada in 1838 to de-fuse the revolutionary situation.

Leading Quebec historian, Leandre Bergeron has written in his **Petit Manuel d'Histoire du Quebec** (A Short Manual of Quebec History):

> **Durham was an imperialist, a racist and a liberal. He was an imperialist because the solutions he proposed functioned in the interests of the metropolis (ed. note, the imperialist country that rules the colony): to eliminate the French Canadians and offer participation in the government to the English colonials in order to reattach them to the Empire. He was racist in his solution to the French Canadian problem. He considered the English race superior and saw in the assimilation process an opportunity for the French Canadians to elevate themselves toward civilization. He was liberal to the extent that he accorded responsible government to the English colonials.**

How aptly does this description fit Trudeau, and all the puppet prime ministers of this country in their attitude to Quebec. Their main function is to make life easy for the imperialist power — give

nal liberation struggle"

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Betrayal

r and Lower Canada, refuge from the Bri- ordering areas of the a secret pact was een the two imperial- the border was closed ny, which turned Pat- ne tender mercies of olish problem" struck

nada, 661 Patriotes f whom 12 were exe- Canada, the toll was 21 executions.

Brunswick loggers in n the Miramichi River invading U.S. troops. nadians drove the ag- were betrayed by the wed the U.S. to keep t would keep its army here it was "so use-

in and the U.S. for- al they made during evolutions. In return keeping Canada en- nd, the U.S. was given Brunswick, Quebec the hump of Maine, Isle Royale). Three British agreed to hand reaches of the Colum-

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e of the uprising was Rolph, one of the revo- s, panicked and called three days too early. vere confused by this, ned, simply disap-

Toronto was met out- its by a small delega- all the revolutionary forcements could be head of the delega- Rolph, as fearful as

Day Dr. Rolphs

n and his friends are Rolphs. They and far too weak-kneed to ious anti-imperialist s they were in 1837. ourgeoisie had their —and they failed. led the Canadian peo- s. Their time is past. class is coming forward to lead our national liberation struggle: the proletarait.

During the 19th century, the proletariat had not yet emerged as a highly organised social class in Canada. It was just coming forward and was not capable of taking the leadership in the revolutionary struggles of that period, although it provided a large part of the manpower.

Confederation

Confederation is touted in certain quarters as the attainment of Canadian independence. However, Pierre-Elliot Trudeau himself gives 1931 as the date that Canada (formally) became a sovereign country.

The tremendous increase in the power of the American bourgeoisie (due to their victory in the U.S. Civil War) led Britain to unite her North American colonies—the better to keep them for herself, and out of American hands.

The powerful desire for independence on the part of the Canadian people forced Britain to grant home rule (local autonomy) to Canada — that's what Confederation meant — home rule, not independence.

This was also a great period of U.S. expansion with many threats of invasion: manifest destiny, 54-40 or fight, etc. (U.S. slogans of conquest). But the borders remained as they were until gold was discovered in the Yukon in 1898. In the great Alaska Panhandle Swindle, the British imperialists again made a deal with the U.S. imperialists to hand over a piece of Canada in return for concessions elsewhere.

Capitalist Imperialism

In the 19th century, modern capitalism developed into a world-wide imperialist system. Lenin pointed out that this change was fundamentally completed by the turn of the century.

If we look at the history of Canada in this period—we find that it corresponds precisely to Lenin's predictions in "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism."

Certain bourgeois histories present the latter part of the 19th century as a time of great hustle and bustle in Canada—the "saga" of building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and so on.

In fact, Canada at the time was one of the great dead waters of the world. The economic situation was so bad that from 1867 to 1900, more persons left Canada than entered!

The big development boom in Canada began precisely when Lenin said it would — at the beginning of the 20th century — because now Britain had much "spare" capital for foreign investment.

Now the west was opened. There was a big boom of industrial building in the east. Why wasn't the West opened earlier? It was just as good for farming in 1850 as in 1900.

It wasn't opened during the earlier period because the British imperialists did not have the capital to spare, because they had not yet accumulated so much "spare" capital that they were forced to invest much abroad in the colonies.

The expansion into the U.S. West, on the other hand, began much earlier —because the profits of capitalism in the U.S. (which went mainly to local capitalists) were large enough to finance it, whereas in Canada, most of the surplus capital produced by the SOCIETY went abroad.

In other words, economic expansion did not happen in Canada until it was profitable and necessary for the British imperialists to make it happen.

Today, it is the U.S. imperialists who decide whether there shall be boom or bust in Canada, whether there shall be jobs or bread lines. At the present, we have a high and rising rate of unemployment because it is not **profitable** for the imperialists to maintain production here.

The basis of the Canadian economy has always been—colonial subjection and imperialist profiteering.

Author's note: This speech was delivered some time before the recent events in Quebec.

They are in reality expressions of a deeper and more fundamental change that had already occurred in the minds of the masses of the people of Quebec and of Canada: the tremendous growth of a sympathy for and an acceptance of the necessity for a national liberation struggle.

It is this changing mood of the people, and its accompanying new tactics of the ruling classes, that is the new stage of the struggle.

The actions of the FLQ and the government are reflections of this deeper reality. The recent events, and the reactions to them, are showing more clearly the nature and class outlook of all those involved, either directly or indirectly.

Other articles in this newspaper go into this more fully, as will the second half of this one.

Special

Montreal Report

By NEW CANADA Staff Writer

MONTREAL — Probably the most important result of the recent events in Quebec has been to convince progressive people in Quebec that the social and political changes they need and want so badly will not come through the electoral process—they no longer believe that democracy exists in Quebec.

The cover of the November issue of **Le Quartier Latin** ("The Latin Quarter," the University of Montreal student magazine) shows the **Patriote** flag of 1837 gagged.

The students explain that the green stripe symbolizes hope, the red stripe socialism—and the white stripe that once meant purity now symbolizes the gagging of the Quebec left by the police and the army.

REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF '37!!!

NEW CANADA strongly urges its readers to show their solidarity with the people of Quebec by responding to the appeal of Friends of Quebec which has been included in the mailing to subscribers. Friends of Quebec is raising money for the families of those arrested and for the defense of those charged. Contributions should be sent to Friends of Quebec, 10 Jean St., Toronto 5.

Quartier Latin had backed the struggle for Quebec independence: two of its editors were arrested and others were interrogated.

Yet, the students are hopeful. Despite the soldiers in the streets, despite the repressive legislation, despite the arrests, Quebec is moving toward independence.

As we go to press, five of the twenty-five men and women charged on the 21st day of their imprisonment have been charged with seditious conspiracy to change the Government of Canada and particularly the government of Quebec. This is an offense which means a 14-year prison sentence. These cases have been remanded until January which means an additional 63 days in jail without bail for Charles Gagnon, Jacques Larue-Langlois, Pierre Vallieres, Robert Lemieux and President of the Montreal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), Michel Chartrand.

Persons recently released from jail told this reporter that they are being held in solitary confinement, without access to news, visitors; and while they are permitted to write letters, these do not reach their destination. Michel Chartrand kept spirits up by singing operas he composed to Trudeau and Montreal Mayor Drapeau.

Persons released face possible loss of jobs and periods of unemployment. In a number of cases the police, who made their interrogations, arrests and searches in the early hours of the morning, wrecked homes.

The Saturday before the civic elections in Montreal, many supporters of FRAP (Front d'Action Politique—the political front of neighbourhood and poor people's groups that opposed Mayor Drapeau) were detained, interrogated and their leaflets confiscated.

Yet, the political work continues. Neighbourhood FRAP political action committees hold regular meetings to discuss politics and act on local needs. Progressive newspapers are published and public meetings are held, quietly.

continued page 8

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spirit of '37

way resources and subdue he people. And, the very moment that the masses anywhere in Canada rise up against these gross injustices —the puppets point to Quebec, to the "French problem" and attempt to buy-off the reactionary and vacillating elements in English Canada with cries of "national unity."

Trudeau's unity, like Durham's unity, like Borden's unity, is unity under the banner of imperialism, racism and liberalism. It serves only to divide the country and divert the main struggle against U.S. imperialism to the racism and chauvinsim of "frog-hunting" —for that is the precise and crude reality of what Trudeau, with his War Measures Act and his police and his army, is doing in Quebec. And, anyone who supports him in this effort is supporting imperialism, racism and fascism.

The only way to fight the fascist repression is to **REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF '37.**

By reviving the spirit of 1837, we mean the close revolutionary, anti - imperialist unity of the two nations. We mean full support to the anti-imperialist independence struggle of the people of Quebec. We mean uniting with our real friends to defeat our real enemies.

Common Enemy

In 1837, the enemy was British imperialism; today it is U.S. imperialism. The people of both nations have a proud history of united struggle against their common enemy.

The 1837 Declaration of Independence of Upper Canada (Ontario) stated:

> **That the Reformers of Upper Canada are called upon by every tie of feeling, interest and duty, to make common cause with their fellow-citizens of Lower Canada, whose successful coercion would doubtless be in time visited upon us, and the redress of whose grievances would be the best guarantee for the redress of our own.**

Within five months of these words, the Upper Canadians were marching armed to the battle to drive British Imperialism from Canada.

Support for the **Patriote** struggle against British imperialism came also from the British working class through the Chartists, the first mass political organization of the industrial proletariat, who held mass rallies in London to agitate in favour of "Canadian Rights." In a letter to the **Patriotes** they addressed m as "friends in the cause liberty, oppressed brothers," and said:

> **Do not therefore believe that the working millions of England have anything in common with your oppressors.**

To this message of support, the **Patriotes** replied:

> **We desire, through your Association, to proclaim, that whatever course we shall be compelled to adopt, we have no contest with the people of England. We war only against the aggressions of their and our tyrannical oppressors.**

While the **Patriotes** were receiving support from Patriots in Upper Canada and the Maritimes, they were being attacked by reactionary elements who insisted theirs was a "racial" conflict—to which they replied:

> **We have never entertained but on the contrary have ever reproved the unfortunate national distinctions which our common enemies have sought maliciously to foment among us . . . we are striving to assure the while people, without distinction, the same rights, equal justice and a common liberty.**

THIS IS THE SPIRIT OF '37 THAT WE MUST REVIVE.

The precise form that the united struggle of the two nations for liberty against imperialist oppression—whether it will be bi-national unity within one state or bi-national unity within two states—is a question to be determined by the people of Quebec. They will base their decision on the concrete historical circumstances in which they find themselves; foremost among which is the level of

York victory

continued from page one

meeting unless forced to do so, and a petition from 150 students will not force them."

On Friday, Dr. Slater replied that he would not call a Senate meeting. The Deadline set for him by the student council was the following Tuesday, Oct. 13.

The student council then decided that no further real action could be taken. Student councils tend to be easily intimidated and coopted by university administrations. But Paul Axelrod won as president partly on a platform for research into Americanization.

CLM delivered a letter to Dr. Slater which stated that if he did not release the figures at a public rally called by CLM for Thursday at 2:00 we would sit-in his office.

A leaflet issued by CLM said "This is a gross national insult . . . We have to refute the idea of 'international scholarship' and 'privacy of information' with our knowledge that in fact, the foremost ideology perpetrated in our universities is American ideology. It is an ideology that rationalizes the American domination of our country."

The very next day, he called an **emergency Senate meeting** (to be held the next Wednesday) to redebate the issue, and said he would put forward a motion calling for the release of the statistics.

Carmen Cole, the Ontario Vice-president of the Council of Canadian Unions was asked to speak at York to explain why Canadian workers are concerned about the Americanization of the universities. He discussed Canadian Unions and Canadian Independence.

Student Educationals

His talk was the first in a series to be called by CLM to inform York students of American imperialism and the need for independence and socialism. Robin Mathews spoke on Friday, Oct. 23. A report on his speech is in this issue of **New Canada.**

Then the Students' Administrative Council at University of Toronto sent a telegram in support of the York students struggle to get the statistics, and strongly stated that the statistics must be released.

The next day the CLM called a rally attended by some 200 students to discuss the situation. Dr. Slater appeared to tell the students of his decision to call an **emergency Senate meeting.** He reiterated the old bankrupt excuses for not releasing the figures.

Two other speakers, Gary Perly, the Chairman of CLM and Leo Adler, Osgoode Law student, spoke to the students for two-and-a-half hours about the necessity for releasing the statistics.

Many questions were asked, which proved that students feel strongly about the issue, although at times they failed to realize the full significance of American imperialism in the universities.

Senate Capitulates

CLM decided they would give the Senate one more chance, and postpone the sit-in until the results of the **emergency** Senate meeting were known the following week.

The next Monday, Oct. 19, the Committee on University Affairs came to head York's annual brief and to receive the information they had asked for. CLM asked permission to submit a brief but was denied.

The student council did present a brief, but in their usual naive manner, all they asked was that CUA again ask for the figures, stating their primary aim was "openness of information."

The Wednesday **emergency** Senate meeting was well publicized and many students turned out to hear the Senate's decision.

The Senate debated for one and a half hours this time. One speaker opposed the motion, because it was clear to him that the reason for releasing the statistics was political expediency. Dr. Slater admitted that it was politically expedient. Professor Olson stated that there was a climate of controversy, including student sit-in, therefore a statement should be included with the statistics approving academic freedom and "iternational scholarship."

Dean of the Arts department, John Saywell stated that he is "under the gun" because his faculty is heavily Americanized. He also said that by refusing to release the statistics, the Senate admitted its "guilt."

Professor Eaton supported the motion, because inaccurate figures would be used if accurate ones were not released. He said that the contined inferiority complex of Canadians prompted them to support foreign scholars.

Emphasis was put on protecting the information from public abuse, but no one could say how the administration could provide this protection. Dr. Slater said merely that the Senate would have to be vigilant.

The struggle at York proves that the idea of "academic freedom" means the freedom of the administration and faculty to ignore the needs and wishes of the Canadian people (who pay for the universities) and the wishes of the students.

Militancy feared

It would have been impossible for the Senate to release the statistics out of a genuine concern for the Canadian people, and their need for a Canadian university, because they are under the control of American ideology and imperialism. Thus, fearful of a militant student response if the figures were not released, they voted 39 to 12, with 5 abstentions to release the figures.

The York students have won a major victory. We must realize however that it will take more and more pressure, and more and more effort as the struggle advances.

The struggle ahead

The main task at the moment in fighting U.S. imperialist influence on the campus is the implementation of the 85 per cent Canadian quota on teaching faculty and students in the universities.

The quota will be a powerful influence to bring the universities into closer touch with the people of Canada, to push forward the struggle for universities that serve the people.

Without educating ourselves about the fighting history, traditions, culture and thought of Canada, and especially of the anti-imperialist struggle here, we will lack the tools to guarantee the survival of Canada, much less its conversion to socialism.

Canadian universities are now trying to institutionalise their U.S. faculty. Many of them, led by the University of Toronto, have announced a freeze on new hirings, due to budgetary restrictions. The pitifully small level of Canadains getting jobs in our universities is now to be reduced to zero. The only way Canadians will be able to get jobs in Canadian universities is to implement the quota.

Students especially should participate in the CLM national 85 per cent Canadian quota campaign — sign and circulate the petiiton.

The York experience has shown that determined Canadian students can win. We must continue in this tradition.

Concrete struggles like the recent one at York University really show the mettle of different political groups and lines.

The CYSF (the York U. Student Council) leadership originally took the initiative in raising the question of the faculty citizenship statistics, but it was not determined enough to carry the struggle through to victory.

Lacking confidence in the masses of the students, it could propose nothing but a mild rebuke when York President Slater told it where to go. It was the firm action proposed by the Canadian Liberation Movement that turned the trick.

CYSF President Paul Axelrod rejected repeated CLM requests for unity in this struggle, and effectively abdicated when the going got tough.

Two tiny self-proclaimed "Marxist" groups jumped into the fight on the side of the reactionaries and imperialists — the "Progressive Youth Movement" and the "Canadian Party of Labor."

The politics of these little bands — socialism in words, imperialism in deeds —received a resounding rebuke in the heat of the struggle. Joining in the chorus of reactionaries of all types, one of these began his "nationalism is reactionary" ravings at a mass student rally. He was booed right off the stage by the students.

At another large rally, they put up a howl against the Chairman of the CLM, this time working shoulder-to-shoulder with open redbaiters. Again, students present took them on and showed up the pro-imperialist nature of their politics.

Although small in numbers at York at the beginning of the crisiis, the CLM was able to play the leading role in the struggle because it had correctly analysed the situation and the contradictions at York, because of its evident desire to unite all those forces that could be unitedaround this issue and because its position clearly corresponded to the desires of the York students and the Canadian people.

The principled and firm CLM position won it many new friends at York. Its increased strength and influence will continue to be used to defend the interests of the Canadian people and oppose U.S. imperialist oppression.

Quebec independence struggle continues

continued from page 6

At this point when the state machinery seems incapable of destroying the FLQ, more and more people are beginning to question the presence of the army, the need for emergency legislation and the very legitimacy of the provincial government —Bourassa is seen as a puppet of Trudeau and the imperialists.

One foreign observer in Montreal told this reporter that the situation in Quebec today resembles that of Viet Nam in the 1930's—not the Viet Nam of the '60s, he said, but of the '30s when deeply committed patriots were willing to sacrifice their lives in undertaking individual acts of violence to oppose the French imperialists.

It is this kind of consciousness which is reflected in the FLQ Manifesto—a document which has had a profound emotional effect on all those who felt the exploitation and humiliation of their lives.

But, while the Manifesto emphasized much of what people in Quebec already know, it did not put forward a programme that they could act on to achieve national liberation.

In fact, it repudiated the very need for such a programme and for the kind of organization which could lead the way to victory. "Don't wait for a miracle organization!" it says. As though organizations are made from miracles and not built by the hard work of the people.

"Faites vous-memes votre revolution," the Manifesto urges people to a 'do-it-yourself' revolution on the basis that only you yourself know the conditions of your own oppression, and that therefore you alone are capable of building a liberated society.

This idea has by now become quite popular and it has been given the name "auto-gestion." The problem with this theory is twofold: It underestimates how well-organized, how powerful and how shrewd the enemy is; it underestimates the intelligence of the masses to understand the workings of the whole society and to organize.

The writers of the Manifesto see a whole lot of enemies variously identified as "the rich," "the voracious sharks," "the election-riggers" and "British Parliamentarism." Of course, these are all enemies; but no distinctions have been made about power and the way the whole social system works—that U.S. imperialism rules.

The sharks and the rich and the patronage-dispensing bosses are agents of U.S. imperialism. And as Vallieres, Gagnon and others have pointed out, U.S. imperialism controls the economy of Quebec as it controls the economy of Canada—the kind of "independent" Quebec proposed by Rene Levesque (whom the Manifesto quotes approvingly) would be nothing more than a banana republic.

Recent events have proven that the people of Quebec have moved to a new stage in the struggle for liberation. This stage holds out new hopes, but it is also fraught with danger: dangers posed by pro-imperialist elements parading as nationalists; dangers posed by individual terrorist heroics holding back the powerful mass.

The Quebec struggle will and must move to a higher stage of organization, led by the working class of that nation and with strong links, as in 1837, to the liberation struggle in Canada outside Quebec.

Next month, there will be more articles on Quebec and a detailed analysis of the FLQ, its "Manfesto," its tactics and outlook. Because of the national importance of these questions, we especially invite readers to send us their comments as well as criticism of the material published in this issue.

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Demand 15 p.c. quota on foreign profs

Students protest U.S.-controlled OISE

By LARRY HAIVEN

The University of Toronto Club of the Canadian Liberation Movement conducted a successful demonstration on Sept. 29 in front of the $60 million Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto.

Joined by York and University of Toronto students as well as by workers and teachers, they marched for two hours protesting the shocking degree of Americanization of this much-touted institution and called for a 15 per cent quota on foreign professors in Canadian universities.

Passers-by on their way home from work stopped to watch and talk to the demonstrators. They bought the September issue of **New Canada** which included a carefully documented four-page supplement on OISE that exposed it as an imperialist boondoggle. Rush-hour traffic slowed to watch, and one U of T lecturer, David Godfrey, cancelled his class so that his students could attend the demonstration.

15% QUOTA ON FOREIGN PROFESSORS NOW
INSTITUTE FOR STUD
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—Photo by Marion Bancroft

A press release prepared by the U of T club stated: The demonstration we are holding tomorrow is all the more urgent because of the amazing revelation in the attached report on the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

We demand that William Davis, Minister of Education fo the Province of Ontario, undertake the following measures to correct the disgraceful situation at OISE and other Ontario institutions of higher learning:

—an immediate suspension in the hiring of any foreign citizens for positions at OISE or any other university or college in Ontario until a quota on these persons has been established;

—immediate dismissal of any non-Canadian from the rank of department chairman or higher;

— gradual implementation of a 15 per cent quota on foreign professors in Ontario.

1. continuing the moratorium on hiring until the desired level of Canadians is reached;
2. immediate firing of any person who has been in Canada five years and is not a Canadian citizen;
3. immediate firing of any other foreign national who refuses to sign a statutory declaration of his intention to become a Canadian citizen after five years of residence here.

—immediate firing of Dr. Greenfield, Canadian head of the OISE Department of Educational Administration, who is nothing but a mad-dog apologist for U.S. imperialism.

We further demand that Edgar Benson, Minister of Revenue of the Federal Government,

—immediately abolish the two-year tax holiday currently enjoyed by fat-cat professors coming here from the U.S., the U.K. and certain other countries.

We also demand that Otto Lang, Minister of Manpower and Immigration of the Federal Government,

—immediately bar any foreign citizens coming here as professors, teachers, principals or the like until every department of every institution of higher learning in Canada has reached 85 per cent Canadian quota level. (Note: this is seven times as generous as the slightly more than 2 per cent foreigners now teaching in the U.S.)

The demonstration was an initial step in a nation-wide campaign for an 85 per cent quota. A petition calling for such a quota will be carried to universities and factories, home and streets throughout the country in order that the Canadian people may express their desire for an end to the American domination of our schools: domination that is strategic to imperialist control of our country.

The Canadian Council of Unions, to which the CLM Labour Club is affiliated, endorses the quota, having unanimously passed such a resolution at its annual convention in Winnipeg last July.

Students and workers all over the country have been showing their concern. Recently the Students' Council of the University of Alberta in Edmonton, passed a resolution calling for 90 per cent teaching staff in Canadian universities.

The struggle for repatriation of Canadian universities will advance the struggle for an independent, Socialist Canada.

Claude Bissel, President of the University of Toronto, recently defended the American take-over of Canadian universities.

In his speech to the University Women's Cub of Toronto he urged Canadians to be "proud" of the fact that "we have been able to attract distinguished foreign scholars."

Bissell also said that he ranked those people who attempted to impose a quota on foreign professors as "among the enemies of the university."

That's right Mr. Bissell: the people fighting the Americanization of the universities are the enemies of YOUR KIND of university: a university that serves the interests of the imperialists and not the Canadian people.

Waffle demonstrations oppose energy sell-out

By DAN DRACHE

The National Waffle went into action against the sell-out of Canadian resources to the U.S. On Sept. 12 it organized rallies and meetings advertised as "Stop the Continental Energy Resources Deal" in Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton and Calgary.

Over 1000 people in Toronto responded to its call to oppose Joe Greene, Federal Minister of Energy and Resources, plan of selling nine billion cubic feet of natural gas to Washington.

Speaking in front of the provincial legislature Mel Watkins, University of Toronto professor and head of the Waffle group, told the rally, "We're here to tell Canadians what is going on. I am convinced that the majority of Canadians are opposed to the continental energy deal.

"There are 1000 of us here now, wait until Christmas. There will be no more silent surrenders. We're going to make too much noise for it to be done."

Waffle organizers worked hard to ensure that the national demonstrations would be successful.

In Toronto alone, 50,000 leaflets announcing the demonstration were distributed beforehand.

The Ottawa Waffle challenged the official NDP policy in a debate between Gordon Cleveland, New Democratic Youth president and a Waffle organizer, and Mark Elieson, NDP research director.

The official NDP policy calls upon the Government to regulate the sale of oil and gas to the U.S. Public ownership of the resources industries, Cleveland argued, is the only way to stop the U.S. from taking over Canadian resources.

In having the demonstrations the Waffle said it was speaking on behalf of the Canadian people in opposing the proposed sale of Canadian natural gas, the first phase of an all-inclusive energy deal between Ottawa and Washington.

It declared that it did not recognize the right of the Government to sell out Canadian resources and the people of Canada. The only way to fight the Liberal Party's policy was to take the issue to the Canadian people.

Speaking to the Toronto rally, Cy Gonick, who is both the head of the Manitoba Waffle and NDP MLA, described the Trudeau resource policy as a "con job."

"We weren't supposed to know about the deal," Gonick said. "But Joe blew it. The grand design of the Liberal Government was exposed.

"Mr. Greene began his repentance by outdoing the most rabid Canadian nationalist. He had the gall to deny that he had ever backed the contisental energy deal. Now in September the first phase of negotiations is under way in Montreal."

Gonick predicted that the United States will be using 90 to 95 per cent of the world's natural resources by the year 2000. "The United States is the greatest resource glutton the world has ever seen."

He said "we have to take control over our needs, not the needs of the American military-industrial establishment."

In her address to the demonstration, Grace Hartman, president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) called upon the Canadian labour movement to change its ways and join the fight against the resources deal. "It is a fight which the Canadian labour movement cannot walk away from because the economic dependence and underdevelopment of Canada challenges the quality of life, the standard of living, and the security of Canadian workers."

She said that the history of Canada demonstrates how Canadian industrialists and capitalists have sold out the interests of Canadians and Canadian workers "for so long now that it has become a habit and a way of life."

She told the demonstrators that these forces "must be swept aside and new progressive forces unleashed."

She closed by issuing a warning to Trudeau. "Canadian workers are saying 'NO' to your deal."

"Remember such years as 1836 and 1930 when the Canadian people expressed their feelings about their government's activities and spoke loud and clear in defence of their interests.

"So listen Mr. Trudeau and listen well. We demand our country back."

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Ford's 'better idea'

Sell Pintos but ride the recruits

By A FORD WORKER

WINDSOR — Ford's latent inhumanity came to the surface recently when it foisted its speed-up policy onto the probationers who lacked union protection.

The launching of the new 400 C.I.D. engine plant in Windsor meant hiring over 1500 new employees, many of whom were young students just released from school.

Management took full advantage of this green crop of raw recruits and systematically drove them to he limits of endurance with diverse threats and intimidation including the spectre of instant dismissal.

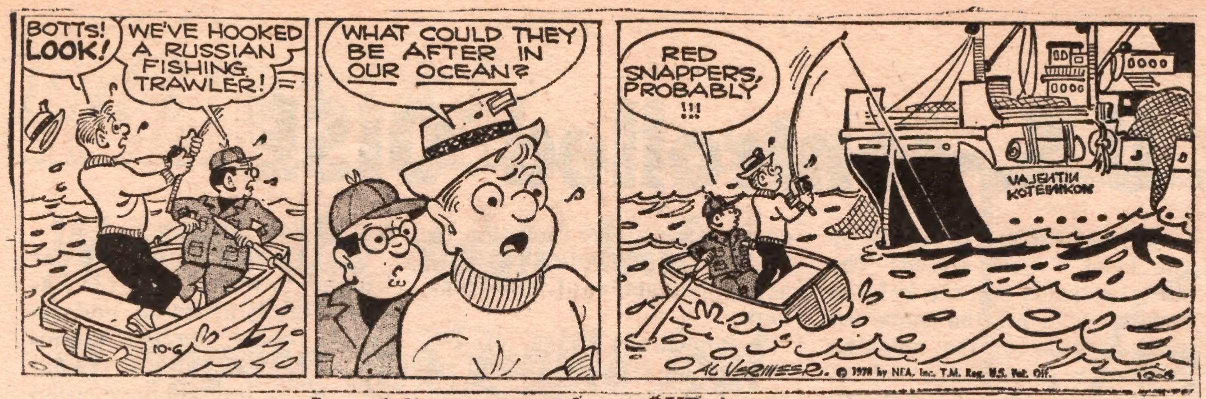
One new recruit, a young man, married, with three children, was forced beyond the breaking point and dramatically attempted to take his own life ! ! ! Having absorbed all the pushing he could take, he grabbed an oil dip-stick and jabbed it into the side of his throat, leaving wounds that indicated four attempts to sever his jugular.

An instant walk-out in protest was prevented only by the union's militant defense of "due process" and the boss's legality, and only then a walk-out was narrowly averted.

However, the demand for militant satisfaction forced the leadership to move. A mass meeting was called and the entire Windsor operation shut-down tight to attend. The smouldering embers lying dormant in Local 200 for years suddenly burst into flame, but the torch of revolt was soon extinguished by a leadership much too benevolent to its dual U.S. masters, the UAW and Ford. Nevertheless, the new recruits learned a valuable lesson — militant action pays off.

Top management, deathly afraid of militant rank and file revolt, took immediate steps to instruct the lower management types to 'lay-off for awhile' and treat everyone, including the probationers, like human beings. Plainly evident is top management's anxiety and apprehension that militant action on the part of the workers may well force greater concessions from the company during a time of open contract. This they will avoid like the plague even if it means that some of their prized slave drivers will have to act humanely for the time being.

Following this logic, management readily re-instated three probationers whom they had dismissed earlier. This was done in spite of the fact that the union contract did not cover these employees who had no recourse to redress whatever. No one will dispute the fact, however, that the militant demonstration, short lived as it was, and **not** the representations of the union, was responsible for putting these probationers back to work.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Imperialist propaganda on OUR funny pages

U.S., not Russia, plunders salmon from OUR ocean

By BOB MUNRO

At the time of the North Pacific Fisheries Treaty (1950), the first of many "passed up" opportunities existed to bring the Soviet Union into an agreement covering fishing in this area. The anti-communist hysteria of the McCarthy period was at its height, however, so the Russians were excluded—over the objection of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union. The Soviets didn't have much of a fishing fleet in any case.

Today it's different. The U.S.S.R. has probably the most up-to-date fishing fleet of any in the world.

Yet again, as recently as two years ago, the Soviet Union itself proposed a meeting to hammer out a new North Pacific Treaty, in which they would be brought in with the present signatories, Canada, U.S.A., and Japan. Failing this, Canada could have signed a separate agreement with the Soviets. The Canadian government ignored the proposal.

At the same time, the U.S.S.R. made the same proposal to the United States. Here the reaction was more in line with reality. The U.S. concluded an agreement (renewed June, 1970) with Russia, covering fishing in the Gulf of Alaska, the exchange of information, and giving U.S. fisheries scientists the right to sail in Soviet survey and research vessels. In exchange, the Soviets were allowed to transfer catches in the "lee" of certain islands off Alaska.

Can one imagine a sight more ludicrous than our own Fisheries Minister Davis dogging the Russian fleet in a Caribou aircraft, while U.S. scientists look up from the decks amazedly? Yet this was precisely the case. Likewise, if he really wanted to know where the Russian fishing fleet was read the U.S. Coast Guard Reports giving the exact position of each Soviet trawler (supplied by the U.S.S.R. under the 1968 treaty). Of course this wouldn't fit in with the tenor of grandstand politics designed to convince Canadian fishermen that our Government was, after all, doing something.

The real point, however, is that while we have failed to take up repeated Soviet offers to iron out differences covering fisheries, even should we eventually, this alone will not solve the problem of our declining salmon resource. Here the cause doesn't lie primarily with the Soviet trawlers, but with the "historical fishing rights" granted U.S. fishermen in Canadian waters under the North Pacific Treaty.

The Russians are mainly going after types of fish for which there is little or no market in Canada. Only U.S. fishermen with "historical fishing rights" catch for the same market as our fishermen.

Further, the U.S.S.R. has repeatedly stated that it doesn't fish the high seas for salmon, and thus far no concrete evidence has been produced to contradict this. Their position has been that salmon belongs to the nation with the spawning streams.

The U.S.A.on the other hand commits itself neither in word nor deed to such a position.

According to U.S. Fisheries Dept. figures, determined from "tagging" practices, U.S. fishermen intercept in the Noyse Island area of Alaska, as high as 60 percent of salmon from Canadian streams. Likewise, on the Skeen and Nass Rivers flowing through Canadian and U..S territory, U.S. fishermen catch salmon four days a week while Canadians are held at two days. Also, through a separate "bilateral" treaty with this country, the U.S. is given additional "historical fishing rights" to 50 per cent of the salmon catch on the Fraser River—which provides spawning beds to the greatest number of our salmon.

In the case of all the rivers flowing out of the Alaska panhandle from Canadian watersheds, however, Canadian fishermen are allowed absolutely nothing. They are also barred from fishing the Bering Sea. This area is provided exclusively to U.S., Japanese, and South Korean fishermen.

Still, this is only part of the story. While Canadian boats have been impounded by U.S. authorities for crossing the international lines running through Dixon entrance off the south coast of Alaska and in Juan de Fuca Strait, armed with "historical fishing rights," U.S. boats fish both sides of these lines, into Hecate Strait and Queen Charlotte Sound.

Clearly, this country has problems with the U.S.S.R. concerning fisheries. Yet, if Fisheries Minister Davis is serious, the way is open to settle these problems. Canadian fishermen should certainly be satisfied with nothing less.

It warrants repeating, however, that the only real solution to Canada's dwindling fisheries resource begins with the need to insist upon a renegotiation of the North Pacific Treaty, to phase out all "historical fishing rights" by foreign nations in Canadian waters. This must be followed by an assertion of real sovereignty through the Dixon Entrance, Hecate Strait, Queen Charlotte Sound and Juan de Fuca Strait.

The only real question is, do we have time to wait for a shill artist like Davis and company to screw up the courage to fly in the face of their master?

October 21 the Canadian government announced it had reached agreement with the Russians, giving them use of Vancouver port facilities and little-used fishing grounds off the Queen Charlotte Islands. The two year agreement is epected to be made final in January.

This article has been reprinted from the PARTISAN, Box 1256, Station B, Victoria, B.C.

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Palestinians lead fight against U.S. imperialism in the Middle East

By GEORGE HAGGAR

George Haggar, a Canadian political theorist (with Ph.D.) is now in his third year of unemployment, largely because of his anti-imperialist politics. He is president of the Canadian Arab Federation which supports the Palestine Revolution.

The seventh attempt to crush the Palestine resistance movement in the past three years has been foiled. It was the fourth attempt on the part of the Jordanian dynasty and probably the last. Now, either the guerrillas take over the reign of power or the Arab reactionary regimes unite to crush them. However, since the latter are historically doomed, if they achieved military victory, it would be temporary.

The civil war that erupted in mid-September was not accidental. It was precipitated by Hussein's entourage and the Nasserite clique as a result of their capitulationist policy vis-a-vis American imperialism and the Zionist settlers' state of Israel. The Rogers proposals were the ostensible reason for the attempt to liquidate the guerrillas. But the real reason is that most Arab regimes feel threatened by the guerrillas and the prospect of radical social transformation.

Therefore Hussein, with the tacit approval of Nasserites, proceeded to eliminate the guerrillas estimating that the task would be a matter of hours. Hussein and his CIA advisors miscalculated badly: the regime won the battle but lost the war for the masses, undeterred by the ferocious repression of the militarists and their Zionist and American allies, rallied behind the guerrillas. When the scales began to tip in favour of the revolution, the Americans proferred military assistance to Hussein but the revolutionaries adroitly accepted a ceasefire to "bury the dead."

Although the current crisis started in early June, the real starting date was July 23, 1970 when Nasser celebrated the 18th anniversary of his "revolution." Instead of pledging himself to liberate his country from imperialism by military means as periodically proclaimed, Nasser announced his acceptance of the Rogers proposals—the imperialist scheme to impose a joint U.S.-Soviet trusteeship on the Arab people. The essential features of the U.S.-inspired plot are: 1. recognition of Israel by the Arab states; 2. elimination of the Palestine liberation movement; 3. the internationalization of Arab waterways; 4. the preservation of the Arab status quo and the privileges of the oil monopolies in the mideast. To understand why the Soviet Union should co-sponsor such a scheme, one has to understand the meaning of "peaceful co-existence," and the policies that flow from it.

To demonstrate their "goodwill," the Arab reactionaries concocted an assassination plot on the life of Hussein and started a crackdown on guerrilla activities. Meanwhile, they argued that their acceptance of the Rogers proposals was a brilliant political tactic and a diplomatic manoeuver designed to undermine Zionist support in the west. Therefore this astute political posture should not be construed as a strategy of surrender as the radicals contended.

So, to show his "committment" to the liberation of occupied territories, the late President Nasser redeployed his Soviet-supplied missiles and gave Israel and the west the opportunity to accuse him of over a dozen violations of the ceasefire. All military experts agree that no material change has taken place on the military front and Israel still maintains absolute superiority. This tactic was intended for Arab consumption to show Nasser's defiance of the west, his belligerence toward the Israelis and his ability to bludgeon the "do-nothing" Iraqi Baathists (Baath is the social democratic, pan-Arab party in power in Syria and Iraq).

Nasser, the man of all seasons, performed well: but, as usual, something went awry and Hussein was not able to carry out his liquidationist schemes as planned. Thus, on the ninth day of the civil war, Nasser indignantly charged hs Jordanian cohorts with "causing a sea of blood" and attempting to prolong the "civil war of Arab against Arab."

The crucial point to understand here is not what Nasser, Hussein or others said, but what they did. Indeed most Arab reactionaries have excelled in their verbal support of the Palestine liberation movement while planning to smash it; whereas these "radicals" either remained militarily "neutral" or sought reconciliation when it became apparent that the Jordanian barbarians were unable to consummate the plot within the alloted period of time.

The threat of foreign intervention, Israeli or U.S., would have come only if the guerrillas had achieved decisive victory in the early days of the fighting. But, since they were on the receiving and defensive end, the prospect of instant victory was nil. As a result, Syria "intervened" merely to help the guerrillas achieve a stalemate —a situation which is tantamount to victory from the point of view of the guerrillas. They have survived, and

—See PALESTINIANS, page 11

***Each month, this space contains an article by a Canadian patriotic personality.**

RAILWAY BROTHERHOOD CONVENTION

Old guard promotes business unionism

The CBRT triennial convention held in Quebec City, September 14-19 showed again the necessity of better organisation and higher political consciousness among the rank-and-file members.

The same executive which only last year tried to sell out the union to an American union was mostly returned to office again. This action, along with the type of discussion at the convention showed that the delegates, the overwhelming majority of whom were rank-and-file workers, are yet able to make out only the outline of their problems—and do not see far enough yet to come up with the answers.

The convention was held in a general atmosphere and outlook of business unionism, although there were a considerable number of resolutions and speeches that showed a developing consciousness among the members.

Again and again, fundamental problems afflicting the CBRT and its members were hinted at, mentioned quickly, touched upon—but not gone into—because the organisation and utter determination necessary to overcome the corrupt machine built up by the old mis-leadership was lacking.

The CBRT and the CLC

The question of the Canadian Labour Congress, to which the CBRT is affiliated, same up more than once. The notorious character of the CLC and its acting as a front for the U.S. unions and U.S. imperialism was alluded to.

A B.C. delegate pointed out that the other member unions of the CLC "didn't respond as well as our Brotherhood" to the CLC request for $1 a member to aid the postal workers. (The CBRT gave as requested, in contrast to the U.S. unions, almost all of which couldn't spare a dime for the postal workers.) He added that "this is not to the credit of the CLC."

There was much discussion of the CLC's role in the Nova Scotia fishermen's strike — where, it should be remembered that the companies refused to negotiate with the United Fishermen & Allied Workers Union, but announced that they would talk to any union OK'd by the CLC.

Delegate Callaghan declared that "we should not be influenced in any way, shape or form by the CLC decision to force them (the fishermen) into the international union which their members don't want."

Tom McGrath, president of local 400, Vancouver, described how the United Fishermen supplied free fish to "all B.C. strikers" and coast Indian tribes.

In discussing the possibility of the UFAW joining the CBRT, McGrath exclaimed that "when the CLC says we're in the wrong field—tell them to go to hell!" This was greeted with extensive applause.

Under strong membership pressure, outgoing president Smith announced that the CBRT would not give up its few hundred fishermen members to a U.S. union, as the CLC had announced. He welcomed the UFAW to join the CBRT, if they wished, even though "I know — and they can't fool me—some officers of UFAW embrace communism." Smith claimed that he wasn't concerned with what "religion or philosophy" they embraced, and admitted that "with the social consciousness the fishermen have, they'll be a real asset to this Brotherhood."

It is, however, rather questionable whether the UFAW, which is now an independent Canadian union, should be encouraged to effectively affiliate with the pro-imperialist CLC.

The CBRT and the Building Trades

Delegates were bitter about news from B.C. that the U.S. construction unions have set up picket lines on building projects to try to keep out trucks driven by CBRT members. They would allow only trucks driven by members of the Teamsters "International" Union.

This outrage was perpetrated notwithstanding the fact that the CBRT is affiliated to the same CLC that the U.S. construction unions are, whereas the Teamsters have been thrown out of the CLC for racketeering.

Don Nicholson, new CBRT Ontario Vice-President, pointed out that the same situation exists in Toronto, Hamilton, Kitchener and St. Thomas as well—and added that, as in B.C., the CBRT Ontario contracts are superior to those of the Teamsters.

Of course, the CLC has maintained a stony silence about this, despite many CBRT requests to intervene. Some delegates complained that the CLC can't control the American unions.

Tom McGrath correctly pointed out that "the CLC is controlled by the U.S. unions." This was greeted by hearty applause.

A basic problem in the CBRT came out when Mr. Henham, B.C. Vice-President, announced that "the Teamsters and the Building Trades have harrassed their last CBRT member—we have no recourse but to use the courts." The CBRT, he explained, was going to get an **injunction** against the Building Trades.

The atttiude of relying on the courts, rather than on mobilising the workers (and not just in the CBRT) will never lead to strong unions.

Bill Smith Retires

The tone of the convention was set by the banquet given in honour of retiring CBRT President Bill Smith — who was retiring due to the CBRT mandatory retirement age of 65. Unfortunately for Smith, his attempt of last year to sell-out the CBRT to an American union failed — under **their** constitution, he was looking forward to another 10 revenue-producing years at $40,000 each.

The banquet was conveniently timed the night before the election of Smith's replacement. It was chaired by Don Secord, the machine candidate who next morning defeated the "reform" candidate, Dick Greaves of St. Catharines, by 2-1.

Bill Smith was greeted first by Vern Wilson, Assistant Deputy Minister of Labour, who brought "the very best wishes of Labour Minister Bryce Mackasey."

W. T. Wilson, CN Vice-President of Personnel and Labour Relations, assured the delegates that "relations between the railway and your brotherhood have been cordial great pleasure to publicly and warm." "It gives me pay honour to Bill Smith," he added.

Bill Dodge, CLC Vice-President and former CBRT officer, finally had something to say: "They didn't come any more militant than Bill Smith," he said.

Palestinians continued from page 10

With the survival of the guerrillas and the passing of Nasser from the scene, a new focal point of the Arab revolution has been established. Although the revolutionary movement eclipsed Nasser in 1968 after the battle of Kramah, he nevertheless remained the "bulwark" of Arab resistance against imperialism.

But now, the situation is entirely different. The guerrillas have captured the imaginations of the Arab masses. And, the Baath party, which would have been the logical successor to Nasserism, may be the biggest loser from the Jordanian crisis. Thus, the Arab Socialist Action Party which was organized a few months ago (not a single word has been written about it in the west yet) is likely to replace Nasserism as the Arab revolutionary vanguard—particularly since it has profound organic links with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (a Marxist-Leninist organization which is an offshoot of the now defunct Arab Nationalist Movement).

Decades if not generations of stagnant Arab history have been telescoped into a matter of months and years in which the Arab nations leapt from the quagmire of feudalism to Nasserism and now hopefully into a sea of revolutionary humanity.

For the first time in modern history, the Arab masses will begin to make their own history rather than remain subject to U.S. imperialism, world Zionism and Arab reaction.

Canadian Union sets example

VANCOUVER — The principled and fighting stance taken by the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada in the recently-concluded pulp industry negotiations has laid a strong groundwork for solid gains in B.C. by the forces of independent Canadian unionism.

Despite being stabbed in the back by a sell-out agreement between the International Pulp-Sulphite union and employers, the PPWC showed graphically that were there only one, Canadian, union in the B.C. pulp industry, workers there would currently be enjoying the best contract in their history.

Mass discontent is growing rapidly among B.C. workers against the defeatism and cowardice shown by international unions during this summer of widespread employer-initiated lockouts. The stand of the PPWC is a beacon that cannot fail to attract workers seeking to regain a fighting initiative in labour-management battles, particularly when unions like Pulp-Sulphite exposed themselves so blatantly as working hand-in-glove with the forest companies.

After an eight-week strike, the 4000 members of the 14 locals of the PPWC were forced to settle for a contract only slightly better than a disastrous three-year pact put over on Pulp-Sulphite members by their leadership, working with management in an attempt to cripple not only the PPWC, but all B.C. forest industry workers.

The Pulp-Sulphite union, by accepting the three-year contract, smashed any hopes of unified bargaining on behalf of all B.C. forest workers.

This summer, the contracts of all major unions — the PPWC, Pulp-Sulphite, and the Papermakers (International), in the pulp and paper mills, and the largest union, the International Woodworkers of America, covering loggers — all expired at approximately the same time, giving the workers potentially unlimited unified power in acting together against the companies.

But of course, U.S.-appointed union bureaucrats do everything in their power to serve imperialism by weakening the Canadian working class, and this potential unity was sabotaged — the IWA is already committed to a two-year pact, and the three-year term accepted by Pulp-Sulphite and the Papermakers means that for at least several years unity in contract negotiations will be impossible.

PPWC national president Fred Mullin told this **New Canada** reporter that there obviously was a deal between the pulp mill companies and Pulp - Sulphite boss Pat O'Neal, an admitted RCMP informer, against the PPWC.

"As soon as we were able to, the PPWC went on strike to back up demands, but Pulp-Sulphite accepted a mediation offer and refused to strike even after his term expired," said Mullin.

"Pulp-Sulphite and the Papermakers settling for a three-year contract was as attempt to put us in the untenable position of continuing our strike alone, meaning incredible hardships to our members with very little chance of success—obviously O'Neal had gotten very strong assurances from the employers that they would not give us the one-year contract, in order for him to accept such a bad contract, which every other forest union opposed."

In reality, said Mullin, forest workers could have obtained far more than the paltry seven per cent per year (unusually close to the federal government's "anti-inflation" guidelines) had they followed the PPWC's lead.

But the PPWC contract is still better than that of Pulp-Sulphite—a fact that will not be lost on other workers. It includes 18 major fringe benefits (equality with management on the health and welfare programme a guaranteed anti-discrimination clause on hiring, improved seniority safeguards, and guarantees for employees refusing to work under unsafe conditions), all missing from the Pulp-Sulphite contract.

The PPWC will use the next two years to good advantage in making known its goals of independent, democratic Canadian unionism to the workers of B.C. and undoubtedly making substantial gains in a forest industry whose workers are growing increasingly discontented with the dictatorial and sellout methods of their international union bureaucrats.

The PPWC (which began four years ago with four Pulp-Sulphite locals disaffiliating and forming PPWC, and has grown mainly through breakaways) and other militant Canadian unions will only grow in strength as Canadian workers become increasingly conscious of the necessity of freeing themselves and their organizations to fight the hardships and deprivations caused by U.S. domination of our economy.

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Part two:

by C. M. Walker

The real politics of industrial democracy

This is the second of three articles on Industrial Democracy. The third article will deal with the place of the struggle for working conditions in the struggle for a democratic, anti-imperialist trade union movement and for independence and socialism in Canada.

The first article dealt with the current crisis in the Canadian labour movement. Now, when the U.S. takeover is fast approaching a climax, Canadian workers are trapped in American or American-style unions which are firmly committed to U.S. imperialism. It showed that 'Industrial Democracy' to those firm proponents of U.S. business unionism and U.S. imperialism, like Charlie Millard, ex-Canadian director of the United Steelworkers of America (USA), is simply continuing class collaboration with imperialism under the guise of "strengthening the collective bargaining tradition."

—oOo—

There are those in the NDP, and the labour movement who claim that the struggle for Industrial Democracy is crucial to the achievement of socialism in Canada and throughout the world.

In fact, the theory of Industrial Democracy is the same old social democratic hogwash and a valuable tool in the hands of imperialism.

Accompanied by direct or indirect warnings about the dangers of nationalism, it claims to face the question of class. However, in one form, it denies the existence of class antagonisms: in another, it puts forth a simplistic and misleading vision of a world comprised solely of workers and bosses.

Further, it purports to be a strategy for labour. In theory, however, it denies the possibility of any strategy: in practice it leads to undirected reform whch leads nowhere.

In Canada, its effects are particularly sinister. Canada is the most important colony of the U.S. Our workers are members of U.S. unions and work for U.S. companies. One cannot, in the age of imperialism, separate the national and the class questions. One cannot formulate a socialist strategy against imperialism without a thoroughgoing analysis of all class forces in society.

Bankrupt theory

It can be no coincidence that as the struggle of the Canadian people, and, especially, of Canadian workers, against U.S. domination grows, various anti-nationalists (pro-imperalists) in the right wing of the NDP, the bureaucracies of the U.S unions, and various trotskyite groups, have resuscitated this shopworn and bankrupt theory.

Let us see how their argument goes.

> "I beleve that the basic underlying issue is Freedom!
>
> "I believe that many must some day develop a kind of society from which the subjugation of man by man has been forever eradicated.
>
> "A society in which brotherhood is the driving motivation, and peace and happiness is the result. As such it is dismissed as an idle dream of philosophers, poets and other impractical people like myself."

The words of Chris Trower, appointed official of the United Steelworkers of America (USA), at a recent conference on Industrial Democracy. Just how "impractical" is Mr. Trower? How distant in thought and deed from the old reactionaries, Millard and Cotterill, and I. W. Abel (USA, President)?

Mr. Trower continues:

> "I believe that all of society must be moved towards that goal (Freedom). Society in all its aspects; economic, industrial, social, educational, political and so forth. As one aspect of society, industry must be democratized — as must all other aspects . . ."

For socialism, societies are shaped by their material base—the apparatus by which their material needs are met This base gives rise to classes which are defined in relation to it. Capitalism is characterized by a fundamental class distinction between owners of the means of production (the bourgeoisie) and those who sell their labour power and are exploited (the proletariat) although there are other classes which may be both numerous and powerful.

Socialist strategy begins with the identification of these classes and the understanding of their relations to each other and to the material base of society.

Classless society?

However, Trower begins his argument with the statement that our society is made up of various "aspects" (industry is one) of seemingly equal importance. This is, in fact, a denial of the class nature of our society.

> ". . . I view industrial democracy as a term describing an ongoing process which cannot be exactly defined. To attempt a definition, one must stop the process while it is in forward motion and describe it in that arrested state, and, consequently, arrive at a distorted view."

Trower's classless society, then, changes by a "process" which cannot be described in ordinary words or scientific terms. Because you will "distort" the "process" by trying to understand it, it follows that any attempt at devising a strategy is futile and even dangerous.

> "If . . . industrial democracy is a process rather than a system . . . **any set of changes** which tend to democratize industry and move us along the road to a free society can be characterized as part of the process of industrial democracy." (emphasis ours)

You must simply have faith that "any set of changes," and tactic, will aid the process in attaining its incomprehensible and predetermined end: Freedom with a capital 'F.'

In reality, in Trower's theory, man has NO FREEDOM AT ALL in shaping a new society.

This nonsense, Marx, and others, termed "utopian socialism" and "idealism." It is anti-working class: the gibberish of apologists. It is the "philosophical" basis of anarchism, pessimism and, in fact, imperialism.

It is scarcely surprising that Trower, having denied the existence of classes, would not recognize class struggle! Insistence on "process" rather than "system" is nothing but sophisticated red-baiting.

> ". . . every aspect of our society must be changed, but not necessarily at the same time. It is possible to make very radical changes in certain areas, as we are continuing to do in education, while we leave other areas unchanged."

At a now indefinable point in the Process:

> ". . . it would then become necessary to make complementary changes—for example, the change from private to social ownership—before further progress would be possible."

Just as "we" are now changing our(!) educational system, the time will come when "we" will need to change from private to social ownership! No wonder Trower decides not to deal with the problems of making the change at International Nickel, for instance!

This is a typical social democrat's trick. Interest people by using the word "socialism." Assure them that you can get it for them easily. Warn them about 'systems.' Talk in a mystifying way about "processes" and the infinite complexity and irrationality of society in all its "aspects." Then, get them involved in the miscellaneous little tasks to make imperialism just a little more bearable which you have had in mind all along.

This is exactly what Trower tries to do. Having glimpsed Freedom and its "process," let us follow him down to earth to consider "those changes which fall within the present capacity of our labour movement." Let us get practical, and Trower is not only a visionary, but a very practical man, indeed.

Point number one: unions should make more use of the Joint Consultation Branch of the Federal Department of Labour. There, in an oaken board room, the wily union bureaucrat can gather scraps of information for negotiations, psych out his opponents in management and demand access to company records (records presently "unavailable" to the Canadian government!) He can also achieve a compromise before the rank-and-file militants can get on to it.

Point number two: make the token trade unionists on the governing boards of various public enterprises responsible to labour: give them a programme to implement; make them write regular reports to the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL).

These institutions are necessary to the preservation of imperialism and will remain capitalist until long after we begin to build socialism. The token trade unionist will be token until he is fundamental — until the working class assumes real power.

Point number three: attack management rights in collective bargaining. ". . . there is no reason why we could not immediately take over such functions as the scheduling of shifts and vacations."

No reason at all. The demand is entirely consistent with advanced liberal capitalist thinking. (Some capitalists oppose it. But, then, some opposed the coffee break.)

How better to alleviate the workers' alienation that is increasingly manifesting itself in absenteeism, "vandalism," and accident rates.

Business unionism

Let the labour bureaucrat move one more foot inside the door of the personnel office. Let him be the one to tell you that Ford has democratically decided you should work a 56-hour week.

But, there is even more . . .

> ". . . . in any plant with a long-established union, most of the supervisors from foreman up to superintendent are former union members, usually former officers or stewards. So why not post these jobs and deal with the applications, like any other job posting applications, on the basis of the existing seniority clause?"

After all, it would only facilitate and legitimize a form of class collaboration already existing. Run for steward and some day you too will be foreman. Who better to handle the union than someone who knows the ropes from the inside? While your union officer is helping you fight for your rights, remember, he has his eye on that management job and more power to him!

Get the social democratic ploy now? You aren't supposed to ask how these "reasonable reforms" relate to the attainment of Freedom.

And Trower's boss, I. W. Abel, is not going to give him any trouble even though he uses the word "socialism." After all, Abel sees as the culmination of his life work the negotiation of a no-strike contract with the U.S. steel industry. And what could be more democratic than that because there will be all sorts of labour-management committees to make up for the loss of the only real weapon or right a worker has—the right to withdraw his labour.

Nothing Trower suggests challenges capital. Nothing even challenges the stultified, bureaucratized labour movement let alone its pro-imperialist character. It merely puts the "representatives of labour" — who Lenin called the labour lieutenants of imperialism—into more little niches in the capitalist system.

Class collaboration

Clearly, Trower is not the most sophisticated advocate of this theory of Industrial Democracy. His confrere Andre Beckerman, Canadian Union of Public Employees PR man, says we must also make the company open its books (the Canadian government hasn't gotten that far yet!) and, then, it will be all down hill for capitalism (not imperialism).

And, we can have it on the best authority, the leading trotskyite theoretician, Ernest Mandel:

> "The working class movement is therefore confronted with a fundamental choice between a policy of reform in the neo-capitalist structures . . . and a basically anti-capitalist policy, with a program of short-term anti-capitalist structural reforms.
>
> "The fundamental goal of these reforms would be to take away the levers of command in the economy from the financial groups, trusts and monopolies and place them in the hands of the nation, to create a public sector of decisive weight in credit, industry, and transportation, and to base all of this on workers' control. This would mark the appearance of dual power at the company level and in the whole economy and would rapidly culminate in a duality of political power between the working class and the capitalist rulers.
>
> "This stage in turn could usher in the conquest of power by the workers and the establishment of a socialist democracy free of exploitation and all its evils."

Such a pipe dream must be regarded as a major asset to imperialism and a menace to working people.

Democracy is rule by the people, for for the people. Democracy for workers at the point of production must be just that. This would mean a complete change in class relations in our society. Each plant must be run by the workers in that plant ACCORDING TO AN OVERALL SCHEME FOR THE WHOLE OF SOCIETY. This scheme would be agreed on by the working class and its allies.

There is no point in talking about Freedom with a capital 'F' without talking strategy. And there is no point in telling the people that they will not have to struggle for it by using words like "process." That is petit-bourgeois utopian socialism.

The working class knows that it has fought for its gains and that the fight is far from over. That fight must turn now to the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Canada and throughout the world.

There will not be democracy of any sort for workers until workers run this country and that depends on the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its Canadian allies.

The first task, if we are talking strategy, is to build those organizations through which Canadian workers can lead the struggle—Canadian unions, anti-imperialist political organizations, and, eventually, a real workers' party.